









OUTLINE MAP
OF
ITALY
IN
ANCIENT TIMES





PIAZZA OF ST. MARK AND GRAND CANAL, VENICE.

Men and Cities of Italy

THE ROMAN EMPIRE
THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS
MAKERS OF MODERN ITALY

IN THREE PARTS



NEW YORK CLEVELAND CHICAGO

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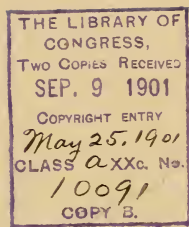
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THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY

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OLD ROME

CHAPTER I

THE ITALIAN PENINSULA

Italy is the central peninsula of the three which Southern Europe thrusts down into the Mediterranean Sea. The Alps wall it off from the continent, the piers of their mighty arch resting on the gulfs of Genoa and Venice. On the east is the Adriatic, which the Romans called *Mare Superum* (the Upper Sea), so distinguishing it from *Mare Inferum*, the Lower or Tuscan Sea, which washed their western shores. The Ionian Sea, on the south, rolls between the "sole of the boot" and Greece, completing the natural boundaries. The extreme length of the peninsula is seven hundred miles. The northern expansion is three hundred miles broad, and the southern (from "heel" to "toe") is two hundred. The average width of the peninsula is not far from one hundred miles. The area of Italy is about one hundred thousand miles, or twice that of the state of New York.

Two mountain ranges, the Alps and the Apennines, are the most conspicuous features of the Italian topography. The former, rising to fifteen thousand feet in height, present a difficult but not impenetrable barrier

to foreign invasion. Where the Alps descend to the Gulf of Genoa the Apennines originate. This long and somewhat loosely linked chain at first trails eastward toward the Adriatic, then holds the middle of the peninsula for several hundred miles, and finally dissolves in a network of low ranges. Isolated volcanic peaks, Vultur, the Alban Hills, and Vesuvius, are also to be noted.

Of Italian rivers the Padus or Po is easily chief. It crosses the great plain of Northern Italy and enters the Adriatic after receiving many affluents. The Adriatic also receives the Rubicon, Metaurus, Frento, and Aufidus, while the Macra, Arnus, Tiber, Liris, and Volturnus, all small streams, fall into the Tuscan Sea.

Northern or Continental Italy which lay north of the Rubicon, differed radically from Italy proper. Its three regions were Liguria on the west, Venetia on the east, and between them Gallia Cisalpina or Hither Gaul. Italy proper was made up of two main divisions, Central and Lower Italy. Central Italy extended from the rivers Macra and Rubicon southward to the Silarus and Frento. Its subdivisions were Etruria, Latium, and Campania on the east coast, backed by Umbria, Samnium, and Picenum. The land of the Sabines is sometimes reckoned as a seventh district.

Etruria lay in the well watered plain which was left by the Apennines bowing toward the east. Just south of it and almost midway of the peninsula a strip of hill and plain between the Tiber and Liris was Latium, the land of the Latins. Roma (Rome) was one of their towns. About the beautiful bay of Naples was

Campania, a region of sunny vineyards and luxurious cities. The central highlands and remote Adriatic shores furnished homes for the rude and hardy Umbrians, Samnites, and Sabines.

Lower Italy embraced all of the peninsula south of the Silarus and Frento. Its four districts were Lucania, Apulia, Calabria, and Bruttium. Sicily (Trinacria), Sardinia, and Corsica, with the islets of Elba, Malta, Capri, Liparæ, and Ægusæ, are properly reckoned with Italy. The three large islands were long the granary of Rome, and the wealth and strategic value of Sicily made it the battle-ground of three empires.

The northern boundary of Italy is on the parallel of Quebec, and the southern is in the latitude of Richmond. Yet the massive mountain walls and the never distant seas greatly modify the climate. Central Italy—the Italy of Latium and Rome—is in the latitude of Boston, but both winters and summers are mild. Little snow falls except in the highlands, and the rivers seldom freeze. From Campania southward the hillsides bask in almost perpetual summer. The vine and olive come to perfection here, and in the cooler portions, wheat, flax, and hemp are cultivated. Orchard and forest fruits are abundant and various. The chestnut was and is a staple product, and oranges, lemons, figs, almonds, and even dates were plentiful. The uplands were peculiarly adapted to the profitable raising of sheep, goats, and horned cattle, and agriculture and grazing have always been the leading occupations of the Italians.

Traces have been found in several parts of Italy,

testifying to the presence in prehistoric times of a race which have been called Iapygians. They have been lost under the successive waves of migration which swept over the peninsula. We know little more of them than that they were an early offshoot of that Aryan stock to which most of the population of Europe may be traced. The Italians proper are believed to have sprung from the same mother race and to have made their way westward from the Aryan homestead in company with the Hellenes, who peopled the Greek lands. Advancing overland by age-long stages, they at length doubled the head of the Adriatic and entered the valley of the Po, the gentle Iapygian retiring before the stern and hardy immigrant.

Even among the Italians, well-defined differences were noticed, the Umbrians, Samnites, and other tribes of the central and eastern highlands, being distinguished from the Latins by marked variations of language and beliefs. Besides the vanishing Iapygians and the conquering Italians there was a third great people in Italy, the Etruscans, whose home between the Tiber and Arnus is still called Tuscany. Here they had a strong league of cities, and for a time held in check the rising power of Rome. The Etruscans were skilled artificers in metal, and the ruins of their tombs and walls bear evidence to their engineering and architectural progress. The study of their civilization is one of the most fascinating departments of archæology.

Two other nationalities appeared in Italy just as Europe was emerging into the light of history. The Celts or Gauls, an offshoot of the great race which at

one time occupied nearly the whole of western Europe, established themselves in the Po valley—thenceforward Cisalpine Gaul. From the tenth to the seventh century before Christ the overflowing population of Greece came by sea to the harbors of the south and west, planting the Greek language and civilization so firmly that the name *Magna Græcia* (Great Greece) long clung to that region of entrancing beauty.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

The Italian Peninsula: The Adriatic (*Mare Superum*), the Tuscan Sea (*Mare Inferum*), the Ionian Sea (between Greece and the “sole of the boot”). Length of peninsula, 700 miles; 300 wide at the north; average, 100; from heel to toe, 200. Area, 100,000 square miles—twice that of the state of New York. Rivers: Into the Adriatic flow the Po, Rubicon, Metaurus, Frento, and Aufidus; into the Tuscan Sea, the Macra, Arnus, Tiber, Liris, and Volturnus.

Continental Italy: Liguria, Gallia Cisalpina, Venetia. Central Italy: Etruria, Latium, and Campania, Umbria, Samnium, and Picenum. Lower Italy: Lucania, Calabria, Bruttium. The islands: Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, Elba, Malta, Capri, Liparæ, and Ægusæ. Latitude: Quebec to Richmond.

The Races: Iapygians, Etruscans, Italians, Gauls, and Greeks.

1. Describe the geographical characteristics of Italy.
2. What was included in (a) Continental Italy, (b) Central Italy, (c) Lower Italy?
3. What islands are reckoned with Italy?
4. Compare the climate of Italy with that of this country.
5. What early races occupied Italy?
6. Who were the Italians?
7. Why are the remains of Etruscan civilization of peculiar interest?
8. Who were the Gauls and where did they settle in Italy?
9. What region was called *Magna Græcia*, and why?

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CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF ROME

On a cluster of low hills in Latium, about midway of the length of the peninsula of Italy, has stood for nearly twenty-seven centuries a city called Roma by its inhabitants and known to us as Rome. Twenty-two miles from the Tuscan Sea the Tiber turns sharply to the east and then doubles back toward the west, describing a rude S. In the upper loop on the broad plain, once called the Campus Martius, is built the modern capital of Italy. Just south of the lower bend of the river are the seven hills of the ancient capital of the world. By the riverside are the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine, and farther away, like the fingers of a mighty hand, are the Cælian, Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal. At the base of the Capitoline, in the hollow of that thumbless hand, was the public square of the city, the Roman Forum, now choked with the ruins of temples, law courts, and triumphal arches. In the days of Roman greatness the pulse-beat of the empire was in the Forum, to whose "golden milestone" all roads led. On the right bank of the Tiber are two other hills, the Janiculan, once a Roman fortress, and the Vatican, the residence or "prison" of the pope.

One does not see most clearly at early dawn, and the morning twilight of Roman history has perplexed

historians of the keenest vision. The Roman story of the founding of their city and its development under the rule of kings, was briefly this:

The Trojan prince Æneas, escaping from the sack of Troy, founded a colony in Latium. Three centuries later a virgin princess of this line had by Mars twin sons, Romulus and Remus, whom a she-wolf suckled with her brood. The twins, grown to manhood, gathered followers and settled on the Palatine, calling their new town Roma, from Romulus, its leader and lawgiver, who was translated by the gods after dividing the people into "patricians" and "plebeians," selecting an advisory council or "senate" and organizing a military force or legion. The senate chose for the successor of the deified founder a Sabine named Numa Pompilius, who, guided by supernatural wisdom, taught the people morals and religion. Under Tullus Hostilius, the third king, the infant city began its conquering career among the neighboring communities. Ancus Martius, like his kinsman Numa, was a man of piety and valor, who improved his people and extended their borders. After his death an Etruscan, to whom he had shown favor, was elected king. This Lucius Tarquinius, called Priscus, "The Ancient," fought successfully against the aggressive Etruscans, built the massive sewer ("Cloaca Maxima") which still drains the low ground between the hills, and set apart the Forum for a market and meeting place. The sons of Ancus had him assassinated, but the low-born Servius Tullius forestalled their ambitions and made himself king. In his reign the seven hills were first enclosed by a ring wall. A military organization of

the people by "classes" and "centuries" was instituted, from which the popular assembly "comitia centuriata" took its rise. Lucius Tarquinius, called Superbus, "The Haughty," was the seventh and last king. He overthrew his predecessor and, disregarding the Servian reforms, exercised absolute sway like the "tyrants" who were just then flourishing in the cities of Greece. His tyranny and the villainy of his sons provoked the wrath of the people who, led by Brutus and other patriots, cast him out. The Etruscans befriended the Tarquins, but the Romans, led by their two chosen magistrates, called "consuls," and later by a single "dictator," finally, by the favor of the gods Castor and Pollux, prevailed, and cast out the kings forever. For five hundred years Rome was ruled by consuls, and the very name of king was forbidden. Even when absolute power again came to the single hand of a Cæsar, the monarch shrank from assuming the trappings of royalty.

In the writings of the Roman poets and historians the bare narrative of the regal period which we have given was enriched with those wonderful hero tales which figure in the childhood of nearly every race. The gods dealt directly with men; the Horatii and Curiatii fought their battles; Scævola thrust his hand into the flame to prove his constancy; the stern Brutus condemned his false sons, and Horatius kept the bridge in the brave days of old. Indeed, the modern student is puzzled to distinguish fact from fable in all this tangle of tradition, myth, and miracle.

The modern theory of the beginnings of Rome may be sketched thus:

The ancient people of Latium were farmers and shepherds. The descendants of a common ancestor lived together as a clan, and several neighboring or kindred clans would find mutual advantage in combining. Such a cantonal community would center about a village fortress naturally suited for defense. To such a hill-citadel the settlers would retire when danger threatened. Some thirty of these Latin cantons existed in early times and formed a league of which the mountain town Alba Longa was the head. Here the annual religious festival of the race was held.

Rome was one of these hill-citadels. It is probable that the consolidation of several such strongholds on the Palatine, Capitoline, and Quirinal hills gave the city-state its first impulse toward greatness. Three neighbor-hills were better than one; a river town had more resources than an inland village; and a frontier post on the march of Etruria must needs look well to its defenses. The rude Romans gained by their intercourse with the Etruscans. Thus the fortified frontier town on the hills by the Tiber gained a step or two in the race for the primacy of Latium.

The dwellers in the little Rome were not politically equal. Certain families, perhaps descended from the original settlers, were called "patricians" ("children of the fathers") and monopolized political, military, and priestly power. They were the state, the *populus Romanus* or Roman people, and their three tribes were organized by households, clans (*gentes*), and wards (*curiæ*). The patricians were jealous of their privileges and excluded newcomers from political rights. These later settlers were from the earliest times called

“plebeians” (the masses) and as they increased in numbers and wealth, friction arose between them and the ruling order. Beneath patrician and plebeian in the social scale ranked the slave, the mere chattel of his owner.

The government of the village commonwealth was doubtless monarchical. Beside the king ranked a senate composed of the elders of the patrician order. On rare occasions the entire body of the patricians met in the “comitia curiata” to determine great questions of state. The senate, to which in republican times even plebeians became eligible, developed into the world’s greatest legislative assembly.

Toward the close of the regal period a liberal and perhaps low-born king sought to broaden the political foundation of the state by admitting plebeians to military service and in some degree to political rights. The army was reorganized by “centuries” (hundreds) and enrolment was no longer limited to tests of birth, a property qualification being introduced. Out of the meeting of the army by centuries to decide proposals of peace or war, grew in time the legislative functions of the comitia centuriata in which the commoners effectively asserted themselves against the aristocrats.

The republican revolution sprang not from the oppression of the plebeians, but from the ambition of the kings. The student of the legends must have detected the strain of violence and despotism running through the traditional accounts of the later kings. The monarch is no longer the revered judge and priest of his people but has become a military leader. The

throne no longer descends peacefully to the senator whom his colleagues elect and the *curiæ* and the gods approve. The monarch intrigues to control the succession. The Tarquins are unmistakably foreigners, through whose disguise we think we see signs of a period of Etruscan domination. Their concentrated power and military genius made Rome the leading city of the Latins, but their tyrannous neglect of the senate and *comitia* hastened the revolt. Lucretia's dishonor and Brutus's patriotism may be fictions, but we cannot doubt the fact that the military despotism made itself so odious that the citizens at length rose against the tyrants and drove them out. The power of Etruria failed to reinstate the exiled Tarquins, and an aristocratic Roman republic was set up in place of the hated throne. The principle of elective office was reasserted and two consuls were chosen every year in place of one king.

The Roman date for the founding of the city by Romulus was 753 B. C. The reigns of the seven kings lasted 244 years, and the republic began in 509 B. C. We do not pretend in our present state of knowledge to fix these dates with accuracy.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

Rome: The Tiber, the Seven Hills—Capitoline, Palatine, Aventine, Cælian, Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal; on the right bank of the Tiber, the Janiculan and Vatican. Legends of the city: Æneas and Latium, Mars, Romulus and Remus, patricians and plebeians. Numa Pompilius, morals and religion. Tullus Hostilius, the city begins conquests. Ancus Martius, a growing kingdom. Lucius Tarquinius, the Etruscan;

the Cloaca Maxima. Servius Tullius, a wall about the Seven Hills; military organization "comitia centuria." Lucius Tarquinius "Superbus," overthrows Servian reforms and rules like a Greek "tyrant"; expelled by the people under Brutus and others. Approximate dates: Founding of the city, 753 B. C.; fall of the kings and beginning of the republic, 509 B. C.

1. Describe the location of the city of Rome. 2. What was the legend of the founding of the city? 3. What events are associated with each of the seven kings? 4. What are some of the famous hero tales belonging to this period? 5. Describe the probable origin of the early city-state of Rome. 6. What was the social organization of the community? 7. Describe the general system of government under the kings. 8. What caused the revolution which brought in the Republic?

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CHAPTER III

THE MAKING OF THE COMMONWEALTH

For two centuries and a half after the expulsion of the kings (if we may accept the date 509 B. C., as commonly given) Rome was engaged in working out a double task. Step by step her armies were extending her power throughout the peninsula and weaving the network of military and administrative threads which were to bind all Italy to herself. This was but half, the smaller half it may be, of her work. Within the city the irrepressible conflict between the two orders was perpetually on. The patrician clung to his privileges; the plebeian, ever gaining in numbers, and already contributing his share to the success of Roman arms, was clamoring for political and social rights.

In doing away with the monarchy Rome did not substitute a democratic republic. The patrician senate looked well to the interests of its own order in distributing to newly constituted officers the functions which had been stripped from the deposed king. The chief magistracy was bestowed upon two patrician consuls, chosen annually. A "ritual king" (*rex sacrorum*) was appointed to perform the religious services of the crown. He must be a patrician. Two patrician quæstors (or inspectors) succeeded to the royal prerogatives as judge and chancellor. In time of special peril when the safety of the state might be

hazarded by the division of responsibility the senate might commission a "dictator" or temporary king. For a century and a half none but patricians were entrusted with dictatorial power.

The patricians were thus largely gainers by the expulsion of the kings. The lot of the commoners was in the way of becoming intolerable. Many of them had been plunged into debt during the war, and the public lands acquired by conquest were monopolized by the great patrician families, who tilled these estates by slave labor and drove the small plebeian farmers to the wall. To bring the ruling order to terms the plebs three times resorted to the extreme measure of secession.

The first secession took place in 494 B. C. An army, largely composed of plebeians, returning from a successful campaign, resolved to found a new and free city. To win them back the government enacted a law guaranteeing to them the right to have a board of magistrates of their own, the *tribuni plebis*, or "tribunes of the people." These officials elected by the commons from their own number had the right of *veto* ("I forbid") upon the acts of all magistrates and assemblies. They were immune from legal prosecution while in office, and their dwellings were a legal refuge for persons accused of crime.

It is evident that these favors greatly ameliorated the condition of the oppressed classes. To the ground where they made their stand for liberty they gave the name of Mons Sacer (Holy Hill) and the precious charter of their first rights was called ever afterward the Sacred Law.

Half a century later the plebs again seceded. The waste and ruin of frequent campaigns had greatly distressed them. They felt insecure in such rights as they had wrested from the patricians and began to demand that the laws which confirmed their liberties be written out and posted where all might read them. A board of ten (Decemviri) was appointed to do this, and their codification, "The Laws of the Twelve Tables," was engraved on brass and set up in the Forum. But the Decemvirs themselves, led by the foul Appius Claudius, refused to lay down their dictatorial authority when their task was completed. The exasperated plebeians again seceded to the Holy Hill and would have built a rival city there had not the patricians yielded. The tribunes were restored with enlarged power, and other concessions were granted.

Taught by these events that they were indispensable to the city's welfare, the plebeians, on their return, redoubled their agitation. They soon secured the right of intermarriage with the patricians, and laid siege to the consulship itself. Their opponents held them off by compromises for a half century, but the victory came in 367 B. C. It was enacted that one of the consuls must be a plebeian. The ruling class made futile efforts to save itself by transferring certain important duties of the consul to newly created officials, who could not be of ignoble blood, but these citadels of exclusiveness could not long hold out. Dictatorships, censorships, quæstorships, and prætorships were rapidly thrown open to both classes, and after a third secession of the plebs (287 B. C.), the last point was yielded and their class assembly, the

comitia tributa, was recognized as possessing equal legislative authority with the older joint assembly, the comitia centuriata.

This series of laws broke down the wall which had divided the Roman freemen into two hostile camps. The distinction still survived in pride of race, but politically the orders were now on the same footing. All the honors of state and religion were open to plebeians; the resolutions of their assembly were the laws of the land; their consuls and dictators might lead the armies; their senators sat and voted with the representatives of the immemorial houses.

The enormous changes which have been summarized in this brief chapter were two centuries in the consummation. Taken together they involve a complete revolution in the constitution of the Roman state. It is the spectacle of a subject class extorting not only liberty, but privilege and power from its proud superiors. Similar results have been achieved in other countries and in recent times, but the Romans almost alone have possessed the political genius which enabled them to accomplish this revolution without passing through a period of anarchy. The Roman struggle for the equalization of the orders was fiercely contested, but it was fought in legal forms, not with fire and sword, and the years consumed in the process were so many years of education in those qualities of self-control, moderation, reverence for law, which enabled the new Rome to master the world.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

The Republic: 509 B. C. The patrician senate, patrician "ritual king," and quæstors. In time of peril, a patrician "dictator." Struggles of the plebeians. Conquered lands monopolized by patricians. Debts and failure among plebeians. The first secession of the plebeians to Mons Sacer, 494 B. C., secures a Board of Magistrates, "Tribunes of the People," with right of veto upon acts of magistrates and assemblies. A half century later, their rights being insecure, confirmed by the Decemviri in "The Laws of the Twelve Tables." Decemvirs refuse to lay down authority, and plebeians secede in 448 B. C. Tribunes given larger power and other points yielded. Law requiring one consul to be a plebeian, 367 B. C.; other offices follow. Third secession in 287 B. C. secures equal authority of comitia tributa with the older comitia centuriata. Two centuries of struggle educate the Romans in self-control, moderation, and reverence for law.

1. How did the patricians of the new republic keep the power in their own hands? 2. In what way did the plebeians suffer as a result? 3. What caused the first secession, and what privileges were secured by it? 4. Describe the second secession and the result. 5. What important offices at length were thrown open to the plebeians? 6. What was secured by the third secession? 7. What educational effect had these two centuries of struggle?

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CHAPTER IV

THE SOVEREIGN CITY

While the plebeians were fighting their way inch by inch to equality with the patricians in the conduct of the government, the city was taking its place at the head of Latium, Italy, the World. Indeed the success of the commons in their contention was largely due to their sagacity in taking advantage of these conditions. They knew well that the governing classes would surrender something of their privileges rather than that their great undertakings should be imperiled. The several secessions of the plebs were as nicely calculated in point of time as the strike of a trades union when important contracts hang in the balance.

In the first century after the expulsion of the kings the rivalry with the Etruscan cities, and the resistance of the Latin communities to the Roman effort to dominate them, gave the little armed bands of Rome enough to do. The name of Coriolanus looms up through the dusk of that early day, the patrician consul who, for assailing the liberties of the plebeians, was driven into exile and led a hostile army to the gates of Rome, sparing the city only at the tearful entreaties of his wife and mother. The hero Camillus, the second founder of Rome, belongs to the same region where legend and history are commingled. Rome was at death grapple with Veii, her Etruscan

rival across the Tiber. For the first time in her history Rome kept her citizen soldiery in the field all winter, and paid the men for their service, the foundation as it proved of a military system which was to last a thousand years. Camillus, the Roman leader, performed prodigies of valor, and Veii fell. Almost in the hour of her triumph Rome was overmastered. A horde of Gaulish barbarians pouring down through Etruria, overwhelmed the Roman forces. The citizens fled. The Gauls burned the city, murdering the stolid senators in their places, but the temples on the Capitoline were saved by the cackling of Juno's geese, startling the drowsy garrison to arms. Bribes or the exploits of Camillus, if the legend is well based, at length took the besiegers away and left the citizens free to rebuild the blackened city.

After establishing her headship of the Latins, Rome had three races between her and the conquest of the peninsula: The Etruscans, already weakened by the loss of Veii and the raids of the Gauls; the Italian mountaineers of the central region (Samnites, Sabines, etc.); and the Greeks of Southern Italy.

The Samnites, hardy fighters, dwelling in a difficult country—the Boers of their age—cost the Romans nearly a half century of fighting, interrupted by several truces. In the second stage of the conflict the Roman arms received a check at “the Caudine Forks,” both the consular armies being entrapped and forced to pass “under the yoke.” The Gauls were afterward brought into the field against Rome, but Roman steadfastness and Roman organization finally wore down all opposition. After 290 B. C., the Roman sway

was scarcely disputed from the Rubicon to Magna Græcia.

The genius of Rome displayed itself not more in the field than in the measures which were taken by the city-state to secure her hold upon the overmastered peoples. Scarcely had she begun her campaigning against the Samnites when she had to face this problem. The men of the Latin cities, standing shoulder to shoulder with the Roman citizen under the Roman standard, demanded a share in the fruits of victory. They watched the rise of the plebeians and demanded political rights for themselves. But the fundamental doctrine of the Roman republic restricted political rights to actual inhabitants of the city. The rebellion of the Latins (340-338 B. C.) was crushed, and the existing league of which Rome had been the head gave place to separate treaties between Rome and the several Latin towns. Soon afterward a modified citizenship was extended to them. They served in the armies and were taxed, but were excluded from voting in the city assemblies and from holding Roman office—their condition thus resembling that of the plebeians before the inception of the reforms.

Colonies and roads bound the newly conquered domain to the ruling city. Lands near the conquered towns were granted to Romans, usually citizens who were encouraged to settle upon them. These colonists forfeited none of their rights as Romans by their non-residence. Such colonies were not only military strongholds, but were centers of Roman influence of every sort, contributing directly and powerfully to the diffusion of the Latin language and Roman law and

customs, by which the races of the peninsula were brought into union and their differences worn away. To facilitate communication between these isolated outposts, and to furnish means for the rapid concentration of troops, the senate undertook the construction of a system of military roads, which eventually bound not only Italy but the whole empire to the capital. These magnificent highways, perfectly graded, drained, and paved, some of which are in use to the present day, were extended as rapidly as conquests permitted. By the beginning of the third century before Christ the Appian Way (Via Appia) "the queen of roads," which was to connect Rome with the southeast was built, and the great northern highways, the Via Flaminia and the Via Valeria had penetrated the fastnesses of the Samnite mountains.

The southward advance of the Roman colonists and roadmakers aroused the pleasure-loving cities of Magna Græcia from their luxurious ease. Tarentum challenged Rome's advance and brought over Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, from the Greek mainland with elephants and the Greek phalanx to oppose the Roman legions. The northerners were driven back by their strange foe, but their historians loved to dwell upon the stubborn resistance which they made and the losses they inflicted. "Another such victory and I am undone," said the Epirote king, when he surveyed the bloody field and counted the myriads of the fallen, all with wounds in front. And it was so, for at Beneventum (275 B. C.) he was utterly routed and ignominiously abandoned the attempt. By the year 264 B. C., the Greek cities of Italy and those Italians who

had broken their bonds to range themselves on the side of Pyrrhus had been subdued. Between the Rubicon and the three surrounding seas, all Italy had bowed the knee to Rome.

The government of this Italy was exercised by the citizens of Rome. Their senate and assemblies made the laws, and their elected consuls and other magistrates attended to the execution. Outside of Rome the Italian communities fell into three classes, the colonies whose people were transplanted Romans, the municipalities (*municipia*) whose inhabitants bore the burdens of military service and taxation without the privileges of Roman citizenship, and the allies (*socii*) whose relations to Rome were fixed by treaties upon varying terms of dependence.

A glance at the map of the Mediterranean is sufficient to suggest that the island of Sicily belongs politically to Italy. It was in this island that Rome, now the mistress of Italy, found herself confronted by a power more ancient and perhaps more civilized than herself. This rival power was Carthage, and, once these rivals grappled for the mastery of the Mediterranean world, the destruction of one or the other was inevitable. To this conflict which, with interruptions, covered a century and a quarter, history has given the name of the Punic Wars.

When Rome was no more than a huddle of shepherd huts on the Palatine one of many adventurous expeditions from Phœnicia founded a trading post on the northern coast of Africa near the site of modern Tunis. Carthage became the head of a rich and populous commercial empire with its fleets on all seas, and

with trading posts in Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and Africa. Her government was an oligarchy, the state being made up of a few rich and powerful magnates, of landless freemen, and myriads of slaves. The armies were manned by mercenaries and officered only by Carthaginians.

Sicily, in the third century, had many Greek cities and a score of Carthaginian trading posts. Rome became entangled in the affairs of the island about 264 B. C. With the assistance of the Greek king of Syracuse, she made havoc of the Carthaginian posts except along the coasts where the superiority of the Punic fleet baffled their efforts. This led the senate to construct the first Roman navy, and soon she had one hundred and twenty vessels afloat, crowded with fighting men, and furnished with grappling hooks and boarding bridges, equipments hitherto unknown. In 260 B. C., at Mylæ, the Romans won their first sea fight. Four years later a Roman expedition, under the consul Regulus, landed in Africa and threatened Carthage itself. But Hamilcar, the hostile general, swooped down on him from Sicily, cut his legions to pieces with cavalry and elephants, and captured the consul himself. The Romans solaced their pride by telling in after years how Regulus, having been despatched under parole to Rome to negotiate terms of peace, exhorted the senate to fight on while he himself returned to taunt his captors and die in torments. His advice was taken, and Rome pressed her foe so hard that in 241 B. C. Carthage evacuated Sicily and agreed to pay the costs of the war. The peace was but a lull between storms. Rome spent it in settling

the government of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, her first provinces, in clearing the Adriatic of its pirate hordes, and in carrying her conquests beyond the Rubicon, where she chastised the turbulent Gauls and took measures for their absorption by planting her colonies, Cremona, Mutina, and Placentia, in the valley of the Po, and pushing the Flaminian Way beyond the Apennines.

Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, "the Lightning," the conqueror of Regulus, foresaw the renewal of hostilities with Rome, and bent his energies to prepare for it, by building up a rich and resourceful Carthaginian province in the Iberian peninsula (Spain). His son, Hannibal, pledged from childhood to undying hatred of Rome, took up the work after his father's death, and conducted the affairs of the province with consummate ability. Under him an army was drilled and hardened for a desperate campaign, and a great military treasure was accumulated. His men were not the usual medley of mercenaries who fought the battles of Carthage. They were veterans of many battles under his father and himself. They were well paid and well fed veterans, devoted to their leader and sharing his own lofty enthusiasm. Hannibal was himself the central figure of this Second Punic War. He was one of the world's greatest soldiers, one whose talent far transcended that of a mere leader of troops. He was a statesman of foresight and energy, and until his death his very existence was felt and feared at Rome as a menace.

Hannibal's aggression in Spain provoked a declaration of war by the senate in 218 B. C., when his plan

of campaign was fully matured. He perceived that Rome's strength consisted in her allies—that he must dissolve the union of Italy in order to succeed. There was certainly ground for hope. The Gauls were still sore from their chastising. There yet lived Samnites and Etruscans who had not forgotten the bliss of liberty, and the Roman yoke in the cities of Great Greece was but half a century old. Hannibal determined to enter Italy as a liberator, summoning the disaffected to his standards, and having shorn Rome of her allies, would fling himself upon her with his splendid battalions. Crossing the Alps by the pass of the Little St. Bernard, he descended into the valley of the Po, where the Gauls crowded eagerly to his camp. He defeated the consul, and sneaking past the forces which were sent to stop him, gained entrance to Etruria. Here at Lake Trasimenus he lured the Roman army into a trap from which few escaped. The city was in great danger. Quintus Fabius Maximus was appointed dictator, and every nerve was strained to put the capital in an attitude of defense. But Hannibal being without siege material did not press his advantage. Pursuing his old design he turned eastward toward the Adriatic, gathering forage, and disciplining his Gauls.

Fabius, the commander to whom the senate had entrusted the defense, had not studied in vain the defeats of his predecessors. His army, deficient in cavalry, could not cope with his enemy in the open field, but he might hope to frustrate his plans by avoiding an engagement. As yet none of the allies except the Gauls had deserted from what must have looked like a losing cause. The Roman political sys-

tem and the colonies, "patches of Rome," throughout the peninsula held the subject countries to their fealty. Hannibal's hopes depended upon their unfaithfulness and, should they remain true to Rome, his isolated position might become hazardous. So Fabius continued to follow the invader at a safe distance instead of facing him. The eager Roman populace called him "Cunctator" (loiterer) and clamored against his masterly inactivity. The two consuls who superseded him (216 B. C.), tired of his "Fabian" tactics, gave battle to the invader, losing seventy thousand men on the field of Cannæ. The news brought the Samnites to Hannibal's side, but scarcely another treaty-bond gave way, while the Roman senate exhibited an energy at this crisis which betokened indomitable courage and ultimate victory. Great armies were levied, new commanders were appointed, foreign alliances were negotiated. The young general Scipio, having crushed the Carthaginian power in Spain, was made consul. He conceived the project of dislodging Hannibal from Italy, where he yet lingered in the fastnesses of the south, by "carrying the war into Africa." The strategy proved successful. Scipio crossed to Carthage, Hannibal was recalled in haste to save the capital, but met defeat at Zama (202 B. C.).

The price of peace was dear. The proud mistress of the seas had to destroy her fleet, relinquish her European provinces, and pay tribute to the conqueror. The young Scipio was greeted in Rome with unprecedented honors, and was entitled Africanus, in commemoration of his achievement. Those Italian communities which had proved false to Rome were

deprived of lands and political rights, and the Spanish dominion which Hamilcar had carved out was parceled into two Roman provinces.

Hannibal devoted all his powers to the task of rehabilitating his state, but the hostility of Rome drove him into exile. He found refuge in the East in the court of Antiochus (194 B. C.), where he enlisted that monarch in his projects of revenge. The long arm of Rome reached him even here, and he retired to Bithynia, but death was the only refuge from Roman vengeance, and in 183 B. C. the great Carthaginian took poison.

Carthage, though shorn of her empire, continued to prosper in trade, and even began to raise her head against the encroachments of Rome. Marcus Porcius Cato, the censor, urged the senate to remove this standing menace by destroying the city. His reiterated demand, "Carthage must be wiped out," (*"Delenda est Carthago!"*) at length had its effect. In 149 B. C., the Romans assailed the doomed city. In this Third Punic War, the citizens defended themselves with the most heroic devotion, enduring the horrors of a protracted siege until in 146 B. C. Scipio Æmilianus stormed the city, and put them to the sword. The walls and buildings were leveled, and the curse of the gods was pronounced upon the blackened ruin of the once imperial city. Carthage was erased from the map of the world, and its territory was divided between Numidia and the Roman province, Africa.

The crushing of Carthage at Zama left the western horizon clear. No power was left in that end of the

Mediterranean to resist the designs of Rome. In the East, however, were the many kingdoms which had been erected out of the conquests of Alexander the Great (336-323 B. C.). Macedonia, the Greek city-federations, Egypt under the Ptolemies, Syria under the Seleucids, Pergamon and Bithynia in Asia Minor, abounded in populous and ancient cities, adorned with the art of Greece and enriched with the spoils of the far East. To Rome in the flush of conquest they must have seemed easy and tempting prey.

Hannibal's attempts to harass Rome by a hostile league of Mediterranean powers only hastened their own destruction. Between 215 and 197 B. C., Rome had fought two wars with Philip V. of Macedon, and with the help of the Greek confederacies, had humbled that state. Greeks and Macedonians aided Rome in her resistance to the Syrian Antiochus (192-190 B. C.). The last effort of Macedon to assert its independence was in 172 B. C., and after its fall four years later, there was left no civilized state on the Mediterranean shores of Europe, Asia, or Africa where the authority of the Roman senate was not recognized as paramount. Kings still ruled in Asia Minor and in Egypt, but their days were already numbered. Macedonia became a province of Rome. Greece, its splendid capital, Corinth, laid in ruins, became the province Achaia. Rome had crushed and destroyed every rival, and by 140 B. C. was the acknowledged sovereign of the world.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

Growth of the city: Coriolanus, the patrician consul, exiled from Rome, leads an army against it. Camillus, the Roman general, overthrows the Etruscan city of Veii. The Gauls burn Rome 390 B. C. Roman headship of the Latins. Struggles with the Samnites, the "Caudine Forks," Rome finally conquers. Supreme from the Rubicon to Magna Græcia after 290 B. C.

Rome gives a modified citizenship to the conquered states, similar to that of early plebeians. Roman citizens granted conquered lands; the Roman roads; the Appian Way begun 313 B. C. The Greek colonies, under Pyrrhus of Epirus, challenge Rome's advance; routed at Beneventum; Rome supreme south of the Rubicon in 264 B. C. Italy governed by the citizens of Rome. Roman colonies of Roman citizens; municipalities without citizenship; allies (*socii*).

The Punic Wars: Sicily with its Carthaginian trading posts. Rome and the Greek king of Syracuse destroy these posts except on the coast. Rome builds a navy and wins in the sea fight at Mylæ, 260 B. C. Regulus at Carthage defeated by Hamilcar. Rome drives Carthage from Sicily. Roman colonies in Northern Italy. Hamilcar in Spain. Hannibal's campaign, 218 B. C.; crosses the Alps. Lake Trasimenus a Roman death-trap. Fabius, the "Loiterer." Other consuls give battle, losing 70,000 at Cannæ. Scipio carries the war into Africa. Defeats Hannibal at Zama, 202 B. C. Hannibal an exile. Cato and Carthage, 146 B. C.; the city falls. From 215-146, Rome extends her conquests. Macedonia a Roman province. Greece the province of Achaia.

1. With what two struggles of the early republic are the names of Coriolanus and Camillus associated? 2. Describe Rome's overthrow of the Samnites. 3. What caused the rebellion of the Latin cities, and how did it result? 4. What conditions led to the building of the Roman roads? 5. Describe the struggle of Rome with Magna Græcia. 6. How were Rome's new possessions classified and how governed? 7. Describe the rise to power of Carthage. 8. What led the Romans

to build a fleet, and what was their first naval victory? 9. Describe the expedition of Regulus. How did Rome follow up this defeat? 10. What Roman colonies were planted in Northern Italy at this time? 11. Describe the opening of the Second Punic War and the events leading up to it. 12. Describe the events which brought about the defeat of Hannibal. 13. What futile efforts did he make to escape Roman vengeance? 14. Give an account of the Third Punic War. 15. What further Mediterranean conquests did Rome make up to 146 B. C.?

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CHAPTER V

THE OVERTHROW OF THE REPUBLIC

The wealth and power which came to Rome in her new position as the head of the civilized world brought with them also the seeds of decay. The rugged simplicity which had characterized the race was weakened by the corrupting influence of foreign ways of life, of Greek manners and thought, and by the luxury and vice of the Asiatics.

The prætors and proconsuls, to whom the senate entrusted the government of the conquered lands, took advantage of their brief lease of authority to plunder the luckless provincials without mercy. There was a class of speculators at Rome who amassed wealth by farming the provincial taxes, their agents, the publicans, screwing the last farthing from the helpless peasants and tradesmen. From Greece and Asia the Romans took new conceptions of luxury, quite out of keeping with their former rudeness. Shiploads of paintings and statues came from Athens and Corinth and other Eastern capitals to adorn the mansions of the newly rich. Degenerate Greece sent its poets and dramatists to Rome, to cater to the coarse Roman taste. Greek became the speech of elegant intercourse, as it was already the medium of polite literature, and Roman youths of the first families must needs go away from home to complete their education. The

myriads of slaves which were shipped to Italy from every slave-mart about the Mediterranean, crowded honest Italian yeomen out of every form of manual labor, and sent them in droves to the city to become the prey of demagogues and a standing menace to the state.

The old strife between patrician and plebeian, which had disturbed the early days of the republic, had subsided upon the passage of that Hortensian law (287 B. C.) which removed the political disabilities of the plebeian. Another century brought the republic to the first stage of a new form of party strife, more virulent than the first and less happy in its outcome.

About the year 180 B. C., a law was passed restricting the higher or "curule" offices to those who had served ten years in the army, and fixing a minimum age qualification for each of the successive grades (ædile, prætor, consul). The ædile was the controller of the city festivals, and this officer was accustomed to bid for votes by lavish entertainment of the populace at his own expense. This custom worked the exclusion of all but wealthy men from the first step toward the consulship. The ædile usually contracted enormous debts during his term of office, and reimbursed himself from the profits of his administration of the province to which ex-magistrates were assigned as governors. The corruption of the provincial courts soon reached incredible proportions.

The once high-minded senate was tainted by the admission of these venal and wealthy officials, and a senatorial party grew up to maintain this condition. Against these "optimates" were ranged the "popu-

lares'' or people's party—populists, one might venture to say. This party had its stronghold in the *comitia centuriata*, the assembly where the rich and poor met on terms of political equality, and where the high officers were elected. The class of small farmers whose intelligence, frugality, and self-reliance are the strength of any nation, had disappeared from Italy. The corn and cattle kings, with their immense ranges and sheep-walks, had forced them to the wall. The spread of slavery had left them no resource. Such as possessed the cherished birthright of the Roman franchise flocked to the capital and, becoming infected with the miasma of political corruption, made their citizenship yield them a living. The offices of state were for sale to the man who should bid highest in cash or favor for the votes of the populace.

A third party was the equestrian order, the tax-farming capitalists from whose ranks the senate was chiefly recruited. These sided now with the *optimates* and now with the *populares*, as interest or spite served. Besides these factions, the city population included many Italians who had not yet been admitted to the citizenship which they demanded.

These, then, were the elements of danger in the last century of the republic: a venal senate, a distressed and discontented citizen-body, and a large non-citizen population seeking recognition.

The two brothers, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, were the first leaders of the populace in their assault upon the privilege of the senatorial party. The Gracchi were grandsons of Scipio Africanus, and they were the "jewels" which their mother Cornelia, had matched

against the baubles of her boastful visitor. The elder brother was elected one of the tribunes for the year 133 B. C. He sought to lay the foundations of reform by recovering the public domain, which had passed into the control of a few great families, and by granting these state lands in small homestead farms to the citizens and Italian allies. It was a wise and just proposition, but the senate, from self-interest, used every means in its power to block it. The law was finally "jammed through" and a commission appointed to execute its provisions; but Gracchus himself, standing for reelection, was accused of ambition to be king, and was killed by a mob of young nobles—the first conspicuous victim of the conflict between the classes. The younger brother, Caius, as a member of the land allotment commission, consecrated himself to his brother's work. His political vision looked beyond the immediate relief of the dependent classes to far-reaching political reforms. In the two years for which he was tribune (123-122 B. C.), he labored with tremendous energy. The rabble was won over by a law providing that the state should furnish grain at a nominal price to all. This bait swelled the population by thousands of idle citizens. The law of Tiberius was reasserted, colonies were founded in Italy and the foreign provinces, to relieve the crowded population. Next the equestrian order was detached from its natural ally, the senate, by the grant of special and lucrative privileges. These acts aroused the senate to fight for its life, and when Gracchus took the unpopular step of proposing to extend the full citizenship to the Latin allies, the fickle populace, poisoned against

him by the paid agents of the senate, grew cold and threw him over. Defeated for reëlection, and branded as a public enemy by the senate, he was hunted out of the city and killed himself to escape his foes (121 B. C.).

Public affairs at Rome went on from bad to worse. The case of Jugurtha (111-105 B. C.) is an example. This prince usurped by foul means the throne of Rome's subject kingdom of Numidia in Africa. His gold first closed the mouths of the senatorial investigating commission, and then turned back the consul who came over with an army to chastise him. Summoned to Rome to answer his accusers, he silenced them with his bribes, and when at last the populace forced the unwilling senate to take up arms against him, he shook off the dust of Rome from his feet, exclaiming, "O venal city, thou, too, art only waiting for a purchaser!"

In one of the armies which were sent against Jugurtha were two men destined to a great place in history, Caius Marius, the rough and hard-working son of an Italian farmer, and Lucius Cornelius Sulla, a young and reckless scion of an ancient patrician stock. Marius, though not belonging to the office-holding set, took advantage of the popular disgust with the feeble conduct of the Numidian campaign, boldly offered himself for the consulship, and was elected (107 B. C.). He raised an army from the city rabble, perfected it by drill, and quickly crushed Jugurtha, who could not stand against a man of honesty and energy. The whole miserable business exhibited the instability of the commonwealth. The highest places in the state were filled with bribe-takers. Further-

more the successful candidacy of Caius Marius, a "new man," without wealth or family connection, showed how easily a successful general might ride to power on the suffrage of the populace. There was work enough for a strong arm in the defense of the Italian frontier against the restless hordes from the northern forests, which threatened to pass the Alpine barrier and inundate the peninsula. The citizens, panic-stricken by the inability of the senatorial generals to check the advance of the Cimbri and Teutones, set law and custom at defiance by raising Marius again to the consulship and keeping him in office for five successive years (104-100 B. C.). Their confidence was justified by a series of victories ending at Vercellæ which made Italy safe from Teutonic invasion for centuries.

The victor became the popular idol. He was hailed as "the second Camillus," "the third Romulus." His very rusticity of manner, so hateful to the aristocrats, commended him to the democracy as a Roman of the good old sort. He had done brave service for his country, but his military policy had altered the army from a national guard of militiamen to a regular army of professional soldiers—a dangerous weapon in the hands of an ambitious commander.

In the interval of the foreign wars the old strife between the orders flamed out again, and in his sixth consulship, Marius forfeited the favor of the populace by using force to quell their turbulence. He left Rome in disgrace, cherishing the soothsayer's prophecy that he should live to be seven times consul.

Party strife waxed into civil war with Marius and Sulla at the head of the opposing factions. In 88.

B. C., the army under Sulla, the senatorial general, captured Rome, which had been held by Marius and the popular party. No sooner had Sulla left Italy again to chastise Mithridates, king of Pontus, who was in full revolt, than the popular party again gained the upper hand in the city. Marius emerged from his hiding place and lent the prestige of his name to Cinna, the popular leader. Together they recaptured Rome and the chief men of the senatorial party paid with their lives for the insults which they had heaped upon "the third Romulus." He lived to see himself chosen consul for the seventh time (86 B. C.) and died a broken old man.

The popular revolution at Rome made Sulla an outlaw. But an outlaw at the head of a devoted and victorious army, and the representative of a great and powerful political and social faction was a man to be reckoned with. For four years he prosecuted his campaign in Greece and Asia, leaving the consul Cinna to glut himself with the blood and gold of the optimates. In 83 B. C., having finished his business in Asia, he landed in Italy at the head of a veteran army. Cneius Pompeius, a young knight (better known to the world as Pompey the Great), came to his aid with three legions. Conciliating the Italians by his guaranty of their citizenship, he raised the standard of the senate and the restoration of the old constitution. When, for the second time, in 82 B. C., the capital of the world fell into his hands, Sulla's slaughters eclipsed the political murders of Marius and Cinna. Lists were prepared of all the leading men in Italy who had taken sides against the senate, and more than five

thousand of the proscribed lost life and property in this wholesale destruction. To reëstablish the senate, its champion annulled the authority of the censors to remove members, limited the ambition and influence of the tribunes, crippled the popular assemblies, and left them subject to the senate.

When Sulla, called "Felix" (the fortunate), died in 78 B. C., the senate had its last opportunity of proving its right to rule. But its strength was gone. Its own generals, Pompey and Crassus, who received the consulship (70 B. C.) as a reward for ridding the state of the outlaws Sertorius and Spartacus, themselves carried favor with the populace by restoring the power of the tribunes and sweeping away the safeguards of the Sullan constitution. Pompey was on all sides hailed as the coming man. In 67 B. C., he was clothed by a special law with unlimited power to exterminate the pirates of the Mediterranean. The next year he took up the languishing war against the irrepressible Mithridates, and carried the Roman eagles to victory, from the Black Sea to the Jordan. While Pompey lingered in the far East, great events were taking place at home. A deep laid conspiracy for the overthrow of the government by the murder of certain senators, was prepared by Lucius Sergius Catilina ("Catiline") a profligate senator. It was believed that behind the motley band of Catiline lurked such respectable leaders of the democracy as Julius Cæsar. On the eve of its consummation the plot was laid bare by the consul Marcus Tullius Cicero, in the most celebrated of all his speeches. The next great conspiracy did not fail.

Caius Julius Cæsar was born in Rome, July 12, 102 B. C., of an old patrician family. To his Aunt Julia's marriage with Marius, he probably owed his first office in the state. He married Cinna's daughter and dared refuse to put her away at Sulla's command. Though numbered in the proscription, his friends saved him, when Sulla is reported to have said, "In this young Cæsar there is many a Marius." After Sulla's death he served as quæstor in Spain, and later, as ædile in Rome, burdened himself with debts by the magnificence of his expenditure for the amusement of the public. Cæsar's clear vision saw the weakness of the state, and how to cure it. He would stop this murderous and lingering strife of the parties by crushing both in his own mailed hand. To carry out this plan he needed an army as powerful and as devoted as that of Pompey. Accordingly he entered into a private arrangement with the latter general and with Crassus, the financier. This bargain, for such was the First Triumvirate or "Committee of Three," gave to Pompey a formal "triumph," to Crassus certain coveted privileges for his order, and to Cæsar, one year as consul (59 B. C.) followed by five years as pro-consular governor of Gaul, where he might pay his debts and prepare his army. The agreement was carried out. In 56 B. C., the three magnates met at Lucca to renew their compact. Cæsar was to have a second term in Gaul, and at its close to be consul at Rome. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls in 55 B. C., and then have Spain and Syria to govern for five years. This agreement was never kept. Crassus died in his Syrian province. Pompey let his lieuten-

ants govern for him in Spain while he remained at Rome.

Great and true reports reached the senate concerning Cæsar's masterly campaigns in Gaul and Britain. The news brought apprehension rather than delight, for the senators dreaded the day when this known foe to their order, the kinsman of Marius, the son-in-law of Cinna should return to claim the chief magistracy. The senate insisted that if Cæsar wished to stand for the promised consulship he must resign his command and present himself before the electors in Rome. Cæsar's friends at length agreed to this, provided that Pompey should betake himself to his Spanish province. The struggle, which was nominally between Cæsar and the senate, was actually a duel for the supremacy which must end in monarchical power for either Pompey or Cæsar. When, in December, 50 B. C., Pompey assumed command of the army in Italy at the request of the senate, Cæsar's resolution was taken. In January he crossed the Rubicon, which separated his province from the territory of Italy. Moving with rapidity and precision, within three months Cæsar was master of the peninsula. Pompey and the senators crossed the Adriatic to gather head against the usurper. Thither Cæsar followed them, and at Pharsalus in Thessaly, in August, 48 B. C., put them to rout. Pompey was murdered in his flight. It was the conqueror's policy not to build until he had laid the foundations sure. The Romans heaped their honors upon him, the consulship for five years, the tribunate for life, the dictatorship for one year, but he did not return to the capital so long as enemies

remained abroad. He passed through the East rebuking rebellion and restoring order and peace with such promptness and vigor that he might well announce his success in his memorable formula "Veni, Vidi, Vici," "I came, I saw, I conquered." From one end of the Mediterranean to the other he pursued the fragments of the Pompeian and senatorial armies. Within three years he was the acknowledged master of the Roman world. He was in fact king, though ancient prejudice compelled him to forego the title and the crown. By the forms of law he centered in himself unprecedented power. He had himself made dictator for ten years, censor and high priest for life. All responsible authority converged in him. Candidates for office, like the laws, must have his approval. In army, legislature, and religion, he stood supreme and alone. The ancient constitutional forms, senate, comitia, consulship, remained mere simulacra. The life and virtue had gone out of them. The senate was degraded to the rank of an advisory council. Cæsar swelled its membership with new men from Italy, Gaul, and Spain. The full citizenship was extended to the Cisalpine Gauls. The great body of Roman law was reduced to a code and published for the guidance of the law courts. Even the calendar was reached in these reforms and the Julian solar year of 365 days and six hours replaced the ancient Roman year of twelve lunar months. Cæsar curbed the plunderers of the provinces by making their financial officers responsible to himself. Criminals had often escaped by possessing the right of appeal to an easily swayed popular assembly. Cæsar, as the fountain of justice, now became the

court of last resort. Looking out over the broad domain of Rome, he endeavored to fix a scientific and readily defensible frontier on the line of the Rhine, the Alps, the Danube, the Caucasus, and the Euphrates, recognizing the folly of fighting for a precarious foothold beyond these natural boundaries.

Cæsar stained his victories by none of those political massacres which had made former revolutions a reign of terror. But his pardoned enemies could not forgive him. They refused to be conciliated, and continued to intrigue against him. Cicero, the orator, was at heart, at least, with this senatorial faction which sought to restore the old constitution. The old republican sentiment, in the breasts of honest conservatives like Junius Brutus, was made the basis of a counterplot. On the ides of March 44 B. C., a throng of senators "the liberators" to use their own term, struck Cæsar down with their daggers in the senate house. Brutus, the fanatic, dipped his blade in Cæsar's blood and brandished it in the face of Cicero, crying, "Liberty is restored."

But liberty was not restored. Cæsar's friend, Marcus Antonius, (Mark Antony) supported by the army and by the populace, who proved to be beneficiaries under the dead man's will, aimed at the position which Cæsar had held. Cæsar Octavianus, the adoptive son of the great Roman, was taken up by the senate under Cicero's leadership, as the champion of the revolution, but the young politician sagaciously made his peace with his father's friends, Antony and Lepidus. This Second Triumvirate (43 B. C.) partitioned the world among its members and then routed the

forces which the conspirators had assembled at Philippi in Thrace (42 B. C.). Brutus and Cassius killed themselves and the triumvirs were left the undisputed successors to Cæsar's dominion and power. Their alliance soon fell apart. Lepidus was dropped 36 B. C., and Mark Antony lingered in the East under the fascination of Cleopatra, while his young and strenuous colleague was entrenching his position in Rome. In 32 B. C., Octavianus and Antony allowed their differences to culminate in civil war. The fleets of the West and the East met off Actium on the coast of Greece (31 B. C.), with decisive results. Antony took his own life and Octavianus Cæsar was left the sole successor to the empire which his greater kinsman had consolidated and pacified.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

Effects of foreign conquest shown in growing luxury and vice. Provincial taxes farmed out by speculators. Slaves destroy free labor. About 180 B. C. higher offices (ædile, prætor, consul) restricted to men of ten years' army service. Ædile controls city festivals; enormous debts; becomes provincial governor and corruption reigns. Corruption of the senate, the "optimates"; the people's party, "populares"; the equestrian party, tax-farming capitalists.

Elements of danger: A venal senate, a distressed citizen body, a large non-citizen population seeking recognition. Tiberius Gracchus, 133 B. C.; division of the public domain; assassinated by the nobles. Caius Gracchus, 122 B. C.; grain law; colonies founded; equestrian order detached from senate; proposes citizenship for the allies; defeated, and kills himself to escape his foes.

Jugurtha usurps Numidia, buys off the senate commission and the consular army. Caius Marius, a man of the people;

offers himself for consulship; defeats Jugurtha; kept consul for five years, 104-100 B. C.; drives back the Teutonic invaders; the army becomes a body of professional soldiers. Party strife becomes civil war: Sulla with senatorial army captures Rome from Marius and popular party, 88 B. C.; he departs to crush Mithridates of Pontus; Marius and Cinna recapture Rome. Sulla an outlaw with an army; campaigns in Greece and Asia; lands in Italy 83 B. C.; joined by young Pompey; reign of terror at Rome. Pompey gains favor with the people; exterminates Mediterranean pirates 67 B. C.; conquers Mithridates; Catiline and Cicero.

Julius Cæsar, nephew of Marius, son-in-law of Cinna; sees the weakness of the state; the first triumvirate with Pompey and Crassus; Pompey a "triumph"; Crassus privileges for his order. Cæsar governor of Gaul for five years. Conference at Lucca in 56 B. C.; Crassus dies in Syria; Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul; crosses the Rubicon; struggle with Pompey; Pharsalus; master of the Roman world in three years; Julian reforms; his enemies conspire against him; ides of March, 44 B. C. The second triumvirate: Octavianus, Lepidus, and Antony; the conspirators overthrown at Philippi; war between Antony and Octavianus at Actium, 31 B. C.; Octavianus sole master.

1. Why did the Roman character deteriorate in the last century of the Republic? 2. How did the provinces suffer under Roman government? 3. What effect had slavery? 4. How did the position of the ædile foster corruption? 5. Describe the "optimates," "populares," and "equestrians." 6. What were the elements of danger in the last century of the Republic? 7. Describe the futile efforts of the Gracchi to bring about reforms. 8. How does Jugurtha's position show the corruption of Rome? 9. Describe the rise to power of Caius Marius. 10. How did the army change under his leadership? 11. How did he regain his ascendancy over Sulla? 12. Describe Sulla's return to Rome. 13. How did the senate decline in power at this time? 14. How did popular favor deal with Pompey? 15. What was the conspiracy of Catiline? 16. Trace the career of Cæsar up to the battle of Pharsalus. 17.

Describe his organization of the government. 18. Why was he overthrown? 19. Describe the rise and fall of the Second Triumvirate.

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CHAPTER VI

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The accession of Cæsar Octavianus brought peace to the troubled Roman world. After the battle of Actium, the bronze doors of the temple of Janus, which always stood open in time of war, were closed for the first time since the defeat of Hannibal. Aided by his two great counselors, Agrippa and Mæcenâs, to whose energy and sagacity as much as to his own blending of subtlety and force the new master owed his eminence, the new Cæsar applied himself to the uncompleted task of settling the government along the lines marked out by Julius. Though inferior in most respects to that "foremost man of all the world," his uncle and adoptive parent, he must have the credit of succeeding where the first of the Cæsars failed. He disguised the more obnoxious phases of the new despotism in the familiar robes of republican forms. By scarcely noticeable gradations the time-honored political institutions were transformed into the new empire.

Though Octavianus brushed aside the title and trappings of royalty, he accepted the designation "imperator" and raised it to such a degree that it has survived to this day in the form "emperor" as a loftier name than king. Even his family name of "Cæsar" still lives as a title of the highest rank in the forms "Kaiser" and "Czar." The emperor united in his

own person all the functions of the ancient constitutional officers, civil, military, and religious. To comprehend such manifold dignities the new title, Augustus ("consecrated by the Augurs") was devised, and by this name he is best known to the world. Sextilis, the sixth month, was henceforth called Augustus (August) as the name of Quintilis had been changed to Julius (July) in honor of his kinsman.

Under the early empire the government of the provinces was brought to an unprecedented condition of efficiency and honesty. The provincials grew proud of the name of Roman, which stood for law, order, and justice, instead of violence and greed. Gauls, Spaniards, Greeks, Asiatics, Numidians, and Egyptians acquired the Latin language, obeyed the laws, and copied the architecture of Rome. The provincials in great numbers settled in the Eternal City, which now began to form its character as the mother city (metropolis) of the world.

Averse to luxury himself, and living with almost ostentatious simplicity, Augustus filled his capital with magnificent structures. It was said that he "found Rome brick and left it marble," so complete and so splendid was the material transformation. His name still stands for the encouragement of letters, so remarkable was the literary production of the time. Until now the practical Romans had paid little attention to literature, though the commentaries of Cæsar, the histories of Sallust, and the orations, essays, and letters of Cicero take us back to the last gasp of the commonwealth. Under the stimulus of Mæcenæ's favor a chorus of poets burst into song: Vergil, whose

Æneid glorifies the new dynasty; Horace, the master of song and satire; the elegiac poets Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid, not to mention Livy, the prose historian of the republic.

The wars of the empire were for many years confined to expeditions beyond the border. The Parthians in the East, and the northern barbarians of the forests along the Rhine and Danube were the most formidable enemies of the Roman power. The slaughter of three legions in the Teutoberg wood (9 A. D.) by Hermann, the German hero, embittered the last years of the emperor. Aged and broken in health, unhappy in his family relations, and given over to gloomy reflections, from which he would cry out, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions," he died in his seventy-sixth year, after having exercised sovereign power for forty-five years. The senate proclaimed his divinity and established a college of priests to conduct his worship. Upon the walls of one of his temples have been found tablets recording what he considered to be the great events of his reign. But of the event which most profoundly influenced the world he knew nothing. Yet in Bethlehem of Judea, an obscure village of his realm in the twenty-seventh year of his reign was born one Jesus, whose fame and influence were to surpass Cæsar's own, and whose religion should outlive that of deified emperors and all the gods of the Roman pantheon.

Tiberius Cæsar, the adoptive son and heir of Augustus, succeeded to the purple. Under him Rome began to learn what it was to be under the sway of an absolute monarch. For Tiberius was a vicious and

cruel wretch. Parts of the threadbare forms of the republic were boldly cast off. The sovereign's authority was buttressed by the new laws against treason which soon filled the world with spies and informers eager to accuse the unwary of plotting against the august head of the state. A fortified camp was established just outside the city and there the prætorian troops, the emperor's bodyguard, were quartered, to hold the populace in check. The later emperors of the Julian family are remembered by their follies and vices—the crack-brained Caligula; the puppet Claudius, ruled by his freedmen and his abominable wives; and Nero, conspicuous even in such company for extravagant folly and relentless cruelty. In 64 A. D., fire swept the densest quarter of the city, and the report went round that the emperor viewed the scene from the palace roof “fiddling while Rome burned.” To counteract the rumor that the emperor had set the fire, the poor followers of Jesus were accused, and Nero inaugurated the first persecution of the Christians, taxing his ingenuity to devise strange modes of torture for the innocent victims. The burned district he seized upon for a private park, building there the Golden House, which was a world's wonder. The troops arose in rebellion against this monster and drove him from the throne. Out of the confusion which followed emerged a rough, plain soldier of high military rank, but of common birth, Flavius Vespasianus. He and his son Titus, the conqueror of Jerusalem, were long known as “good emperors.” They built the great Flavian amphitheater, which still stands, the best type of the solid strength of the Roman architec-

ture. The arch which commemorates the great deeds of Titus still bears the tablets which tell of the fall of Jerusalem and the plunder of the holy places of the Jews. The ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, which are being dug out of the Vesuvian lava and ashes, reveal to us the luxury of Roman cities in the days of the Flavians, for it was in the reign of Titus, 79 A. D., that the appalling catastrophe of the eruption took place.

Domitian, the last of the Flavians, ranks with Nero and Tiberius for cruelty and despotism. At his death the prætorian guard compelled the senate to select a good man, Nerva, for emperor, and he, dying soon, passed the succession to Trajan, a provincial by birth, a wise statesman, and a brave and energetic commander. The Roman arms had little to boast of since the day of Julius. But now the emperor led the victorious legions beyond the Danube, and even to the Euphrates and the plains of Babylon. He extended the boundaries of the empire to their farthest limits. The city he beautified and ennobled by his buildings. His lofty aqueducts brought water from the mountains to the Roman fountains. He enlarged and improved the theater, the chief resort of the populace, and his forum, adorned with his arch, his equestrian statue, and his sculptured column, was perhaps the most perfect achievement of Roman architecture.

Hadrian, whom Trajan chose to continue his work, was worthy of the honor. He traveled through the length and breadth of the Roman world inspecting and strengthening defenses, inquiring into strange religions, and giving himself thoroughly to the vast task of governing the realm which had fallen to his hand. It

was but natural that such an administrator should take measures to codify the Roman law. At his death (138 A. D.) he left two legacies to his people, the Mausoleum on the Vatican hill, now the papal fortress of San Angelo, and his adoptive heir, the emperor Antoninus, called "Pius" or "the Good," whose long and peaceful reign leaves little for the historian of wars and tumults. His successor was the philosopher Marcus Aurelius. There was little peace for this peace-loving emperor. The prosperous realm was like a house begirt with robbers. Its population of one hundred and twenty million souls were happy and prosperous, secure in the enjoyment of their religions, and obedient to the code of Roman law. Beyond the natural or man-made barriers of the empire from North Britain to the steppes of Russia, dwelt other inchoate nations as tough of thew and resolute of spirit as the Romans of the early republic. They had reached various stages of culture from savagery toward civilization, but to the haughty Roman of the empire all were accounted "barbarians." The wealth of the provinces was a standing lure to these men of woods and plains. By garrisoned fortresses, by unbridged rivers, by long lines of ramparts (like Hadrian's wall across Britain and the "Roman Limit" linking the upper courses of the Rhine and Danube), Rome strove to shield her riches, but her thirty legions did not suffice to hold a thousand miles of exposed frontier against an ever-present foe. The "philosopher" emperor lived in the saddle. Each year had its campaign against the German hordes, pressing ever closer toward Italy and the city whose fame filled the world.

At times a strenuous soldier prince like Septimius Severus (193-211 A. D.), or Aurelian (270-275 A. D.) would hurl back the onrushing tide. "*Restitutor Orbis*," the "Reëstablisher of the Universe," Aurelian was called, though his construction of massive walls about his capital was a melancholy confession of impending peril. Diocletian, who gained the throne in 284 A. D., more clearly deserved the title. The better to provide for the defense he raised a trusted soldier to the rank of Augustus and entrusted to him the western half of the realm with his headquarters at Mediolanum (Milan). His own court he located at Nicomedia in Bithynia. The plan was soon amplified by the appointment of two other colleagues with the title of Cæsar. The partnership four harmonious rulers infused fresh vigor into military and civil administration. A final effort was made to rid the empire of the troublesome sect of Christians by a general persecution—the last which marred the history of Rome.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

The Empire: Augustus Cæsar; law and order in the empire; Roman laws, language, and architecture; the city beautified; Agrippa and Mæcenæ; Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Livy; danger from the northern barbarians; Varus and Hermann; the birth of Christ.

Tiberius Cæsar, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, 14-68 A. D.; an age of despotic tyranny. Vespasian and Titus; the Colosseum; the fall of Jerusalem; Herculaneum and Pompeii, 79 A. D. Trajan, 98-117 A. D., leads the Roman legions into the far East; builds aqueducts; his forum, column, and triumphal arch. Hadrian, 117-138 A. D.; travels extensively through his

realm; Castle of S. Angelo. Marcus Aurelius, 161-180 A. D., a peaceful empire of 120,000,000; pressure from the barbarians. Rome's thirty legions to hold a thousand miles of frontier. Later rulers struggle against the impending peril. Diocletian, 284 A. D., moves his court to Nicomedia in Bithynia; places his colleague Maximian at Mediolanum (Milan); persecution of Christians.

1. How did Augustus successfully establish his empire? 2. What wars were still necessary at this period? 3. What was the greatest event of the reign of Augustus? 4. How did the empire degenerate under the emperors from Tiberius to Nero? 5. What great events occurred in the reigns of Titus and Vespasian? 6. What buildings in Rome date from this period? 7. What did Rome owe to the Emperor Trajan? 8. What to Hadrian? 9. What contrast appears between the character of Marcus Aurelius and the life which he was obliged to lead? 10. Show how the pressure of the barbarians was constantly felt by the later emperors? 11. How did Diocletian attempt a more effective defense?

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CHAPTER VII

THE BREAKING UP OF THE EMPIRE

For three and a half centuries Rome maintained imperial sway over southern Europe, northern Africa, and western Asia. Internal peace, a common language and literature, and a universal law prevailed throughout this vast assemblage of once independent states. The rights of citizenship, once so exclusively reserved for dwellers in Rome or its colonists, were thrown open to all freemen by the Emperor Caracalla (211-217 A. D.). Many generations of men were born and died under its beneficent rule, until the civilized world grew into the habit of believing that the empire which had outlasted all other governments was destined to be perpetual. However harassed along its borders by envious barbarians, however ruffled from time to time by rival claimants for the great prize of its sovereignty, no thought of its possible overthrow had entered the mind of man.

The partnership plan of administration devised by Diocletian, did not long survive him. Out of the scramble for power which ensued came up one general, strong of arm and brain, to set the world again to rights. At the head of his devoted legions Constantine the Great fought his way from Britain to Rome, crushed the rival Cæsars, and about 323 A. D., made himself master of the empire. To meet the changed

conditions he introduced radical changes of administrative system, founded a new capital, and adopted the new religion.

Having disbanded the prætorian guard, which had made and unmade so many emperors, he divided the realm into four prefectures: the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, each greatly subdivided. He separated the military from the civil power and covered the state with a swarm of officials responsible to himself. His court threw off the affected simplicity which had distinguished so many of his predecessors, and began to accumulate the paraphernalia of royalty—robes, diadems, and high-sounding titles of honor. Although there is truth in the saying that Rome had unified the world, it is not to be disguised that the empire was really dual, Græco-Roman. The Roman West, the younger and more virile civilization, had bent the Hellenized East to its power. The conquest had extended Roman law and order over these Eastern countries, and given a certain establishment to the Latin language, but in other respects the Greek lands remained Greek, while the Gauls and Britons, the men of the Rhine and the Danube, owed to the Roman conqueror all that they had of civilization. In language and law, customs of life and habits of thought they were Roman. Constantine's removal of the capital tended to deepen this shade of distinction into a line of cleavage.

For his new capital (Nova Roma) Constantine the Great chose the finest site in the ancient world. On the shore of Europe, confronting Asia, he built the city which has ever since borne his name, Constanti-

nople. Forty thousand Goths are said to have been employed in its construction, and at its completion hundreds of the first families of Rome migrated thither. In May, 330 A. D., the new Rome was solemnly dedicated, not in the name of Roman Jupiter or Greek Apollo, but to the Jewish Mary, the virgin mother of that Jesus whom the procurator of Tiberius Cæsar had crucified between two thieves.

The religion of Jesus was zealously preached throughout the empire within the generation after the Savior's crucifixion, and struck root not only among the slaves and common people, but even in Cæsar's household. The rising church was thought to be inimical to the empire, and was the victim of repeated persecutions. Twenty years after Diocletian's boast that he had annihilated this "superstition," Christianity was officially proclaimed as the religion of the empire.

Constantine, converted by a vision of the cross, saw in the new faith a means of consolidating his power. He placed himself at the head of the Christian community, and convened, in 325 A. D., the first general church council at Nicæa (Council of Nice). His death was followed by a reaction, but heathenism as a system had received its death blow. Soon we find mobs of Christians throwing down the statues of the old gods. The Emperor Theodosius (379-395 A. D.) forbade the observance of the ancient heathen rites. Expelled from the cities, heathenism was long cherished by the rustics (*pagani*), "pagans."

Theodosius divided his empire between his two sons. The eastern section, with its capital at Con-

stantinople, continued to exist for another thousand years, until its capture by the Mohammedan Turks. The West, whose seat of government remained in Italy, was whirled along the road to ruin, the ruin out of whose wreckage rose the kingdoms of medieval and modern Europe.

North of the Alps and the Danube the German tribes had dwelt for centuries. They were men of strong physique and of warlike and unconquerable spirit. They practised agriculture rudely, but preferred the excitements of war and the chase to the dull round of toil. Their settlements were mere hamlets of wooden huts. They worshiped the forces of nature, personified in many deities. Women among them were held in high respect. Drunkenness was their besetting vice. The Romans had come in contact with their restless bands in the days of Marius and Cæsar, and had come fairly off in these encounters. But in the third century the dwellers in the northern forests were thrown into great commotion by the advent of the Huns, a "yellow peril" from Asia, who crossed the Volga and attacked the Germans in the rear. From this time dates that tremendous migration of the nations before which the Roman defenses at length gave way.

The West Goths were the first tribe to win a permanent foothold within the Roman pale. Aurelian granted them residence in the Balkan peninsula, and before the death of Constantine, they were serving by the thousand under the Roman standards. Alaric, the greatest of their kings, invaded Italy, and threatened the capital. The Romans endeavored to save

the city by paying a ransom, but the respite was brief. In August, 410 A. D., Alaric, king of the West Goths, entered the Eternal City as victor. Rome was no longer the capital, even of the Western Empire, for a safer imperial residence had been found at Ravenna, but its palaces and shops supplied rich booty, only the churches being spared by these "Christian" marauders.

The pressure of the Huns, the successes of the Goths in the southeast, or the general decay of the Roman defense—perhaps all these causes together—set on foot a confederacy of the western nations (Sueves, Burgundians, and Vandals) about the time of Alaric's raid. They were pagans, as yet unsoftened by residence within the empire or by the influence of the Church. The wing of their advance which threatened Italy was thrown back (406 A. D.), but the main body swept across the Rhine into Roman Gaul, which had been stripped of its defenders in the supreme effort to hold Italy.

From the Rhine to the Pyrenees, Gaul was a country of fertile fields and populous marts. Four centuries and a half of occupation had made it scarcely less Roman than Italy itself. The Christian faith especially had taken root among its people; the Gallic churches were wealthy and the Gallic bishops powerful. The Rhenish frontier, long guarded by the steady valor of the legionaries, had latterly been as faithfully defended by the Franks, a well-disposed German people, who, having lost some of their rudeness in their dealings with the provincials, had been allowed to settle along the lower course of the river. Into this smiling quarter of the Roman world now burst the

barbarians, plundering palaces, burning churches, murdering priest and worshiper, and dragging citizen and matron into slavery. The Burgundians settled along the Rhone. The Sueves and Vandals pushed on into the Spanish peninsula; the Vandals, under Genseric, carried the terror of their name even into Africa. The West Goths, coming up from Italy, founded kingdoms in southern Gaul and in Spain, which lasted until smitten by the Mohammedan invasion from Africa in the eighth century. Still other German tribes, seafarers like the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, launched out upon the German ocean and came to Britain, a serene and prosperous province of Rome, where they established the group of petty kingdoms which in time were brought under the scepter of one Anglo-Saxon king.

The first half of the fifth century saw this dismemberment of the western empire of Rome. Midway of that century Attila the Hun, whose nomadic hordes had terrorized the north for a generation, rode through the empire carrying dismay before him. Law and order, Christianity and the vast fabric of Roman civilization, in which the rudest German saw something to admire and copy, meant nothing to this rough-riding Asiatic. His almond eye saw in the empire nothing more than a well-stocked warehouse to be pillaged, a preserve for hunting slaves. His progress was stopped in Gaul (451 A. D.) in a world-famous fight at Chalons, that "battle of the nations," in which all the friends of civilization, Roman and German, rallied against the destroyer. The next year the Huns entered Italy from the north. Fugitives from before his

advance founded Venice among the unapproachable morasses of the Adriatic. Rome saved herself by ransom, and death interposed to save Europe from his further ravage.

The battle of Chalons was the last great effort of the Western Empire for self-preservation. Even bribery failed to save the once imperial city from her next greedy foe. In 455 A. D., the Vandal chieftain, Genseric, stripped palace and church of gold and statuary, and sailed back to Africa, his ships groaning beneath their load of loot. The shadow of departed power still clung to Rome, and the title was kept alive by the series of so-called "phantom emperors" until in 476 A. D., the last of the line Romulus, nicknamed Augustulus, "Augustus the Little," was deposed by Odoacer, a German soldier, who was hailed as king by his followers, and recognized as "patrician" of Italy by the Roman emperor at Constantinople.

Theodoric, the East Goth, overthrew Odoacer after a dozen years, and established a Gothic state in Italy. By justice and liberality he endeavored to consolidate the rival elements of his kingdom, the rude Goth and the polished Italian. At Ravenna and Verona, where he chiefly resided, at Rome, whose history he revered, and in other cities of the peninsula, he fostered the arts, education, letters, and religion, encouraged trade, agriculture, and the handicrafts. A succession of such princes might have hastened the transit of civilization from the ancient to the modern world, but Theodoric's successors were not cast in his mold, and his kingdom survived him barely a generation. Belisarius and Narses, generals of the Eastern emperors, reës-

established the authority of the new Rome on the Bosphorus over the Italian peninsula.

The map of western Europe from 400 A. D., to 800 A. D., was changing rapidly. One after another the barbarian states culminated and declined. Among those whose rise to power was most gradual and permanent, were the Franks. From the mouths of the Rhine they spread over all of northern Gaul, the Francia ("France"), to which their name has clung. Before the close of the fifth century they had accepted Christianity, and become the mainstay of the bishop or pope of Rome, who as "successor of St. Peter," already enjoyed prestige among his fellow ecclesiastics. The Frankish monarchy expanded on both sides of the Rhine. In 732 A. D., it was strong enough to stand in the breach of Christendom at Tours and stop forever the onrush of the Mohammedan Arabs, already the masters of Africa and Spain. Great was the fame won by their iron duke, Charles Martel, by this victory, and when a few years later the pope of Rome found his authority endangered by the growth of the Lombard kingdom in Italy, he turned to "the hammer of the Franks" for help. Charles' greater grandson, Charlemagne, crowned king of the Franks in 771 A. D., answered the summons. He crossed the Alps (773 A. D.) and annexed Lombardy to his wide Frankish realm. Twenty-seven years later, at the height of his fame, Charles came again to Italy. On Christmas day of the year 800 A. D., before the high altar of the old church of St. Peter at Rome, Pope Leo III. placed the crown of the Cæsars upon his German brow. The head of the Christian Church in that act allied himself

with the most powerful prince of Christendom to re-establish, in so far as it might be, the world-empire of Rome, which, to the men of those times, was the only conceivable framework for that unity and peace which had vanished with the fall of the old régime. Charlemagne, the Frank, reigned for fourteen years as Roman emperor. All Italy save the southern provinces was his, as was all Gaul and the greater part of what is now Germany. His dukes and counts administered its local government in his name. His commissioners traveled through its length and breadth. Like his great forerunner Theodoric, so Charles perceived that the hope of the world lay in cultivating the best that remained of the old Roman civilization. He gathered scholars about him, patronized the monkish schools, and made his court a center of such learning and refinement as the West afforded. After his death and burial at Aix the ballads and romances which mark the beginnings of Norman and Italian literature, magnified his exploits and gave him superhuman form, intelligence, and prowess. And indeed his was no common work. For his career—though the succeeding age relapsed toward barbarism—had proved the possibility of restoring order to a troubled world; it had collected and conserved the remnants of the Roman civilization for the future enlightenment of the West; it had opened Germany to the influences which were to lead it out upon a separate national existence, and it had flung wide the door to the ambition of the popes.

The seeds of a new Europe which had been sown in the four centuries of Roman decline were already

germinating. The world was indeed advancing, though for generations after the fall of Rome it seemed to be going backward. All things were unsettled by the Teutonic migrations. Art languished and died; letters and the love of them failed; the poets and orators of the classic era were forgotten; architecture, cherished by the church, alone put forth new shoots of life. Even handicraftsmen lost their cunning, and all the operations of life were ruder than of old. Superstition took the place of learning among the clergy. Force counted for more than justice. The Dark Ages—ages of violence and ignorance—were upon the race, and thoughtful men looked back upon the past as to a golden day whose sun had set forever. But we of to-day can see that men like Theodoric the Goth, and Charles the Frank, were bringing a new order out of the chaos, in which the virility and freedom of the Teuton combining with the Roman genius for law and political organization were to produce a civilization grander and richer for the human race than the Greeks and Romans ever knew.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

The unwieldy empire once more finds a master in Constantine the Great, 323 A. D. Four prefectures: The East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul. The dual empire: Græco-Roman; Constantinople and Christianity; the Council of Nice, 325 A. D. Theodosius, 379-395 A. D., divides the empire. Alaric and the West Goths capture Rome, 410; the imperial residence at Ravenna. Later tribes pour into Gaul. Attila, the Hun, checked at Chalons, 451 A. D. The Huns advance upon Italy; Rome is saved by ransom. The Vandals under Genseric sack Rome in 455 A. D. Deposition of the last emperor, Augustulus,

476 A. D. Theodoric, 493-526 A. D., the East Goth, at Ravenna and Verona founds an Italian kingdom. The generals Belisarius and Narses again govern under the authority of Constantinople. Spread of Christianity in Gaul. Charles Martel checks the Saracens at Tours, 732 A. D. The pope of Rome fears the Lombard kingdom, and appeals to Charlemagne, who is crowned emperor, 800 A. D.

1. How was the unwieldy empire strengthened by Constantine? 2. Show how the empire was dual in its nature. 3. How had Christianity begun to be felt? 4. Describe the invasion of Alaric. 5. What tribes followed close behind him? 6. Describe the advance of the Huns under Attila. 7. How did Rome suffer from the Vandals? 8. What service did Theodoric render to Italy? 9. What famous generals of the Eastern empire governed it after his death? 10. Describe the spread of Christianity in Gaul. 11. When was the battle of Tours fought, and why was it of great importance? 12. What events led to the crowning of Charlemagne as Roman emperor?

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THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS

EDITED FROM THE ITALIAN OF

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI

BY

ELIZABETH WORMELEY LATIMER

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The compiler of this brief narrative of the rise and fortunes of the Italian republics from A. D. 1000 to A. D. 1500, wishes to say that the work done is greatly indebted to the admirable abridgment of Sismondi's *History of the Italian Republics*, published by Harper & Brothers, who kindly permitted free use of the book. So much has been taken from it in scattered sentences as well as longer paragraphs that quotation marks have not been used. Acknowledgments are also due to Russell's *Modern Europe*, W. W. Story's *Roba di Roma*, and an article on St. Francis d'Assisi, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Some manuscript lectures bearing on the same period have also been freely used.

CHAPTER I

CHARLEMAGNE — OTHO THE GREAT — POPE
GREGORY VII. — HENRY IV.

Italy was never a "united Italy" from the time of the disruption of the Roman Empire, and its invasion by barbaric tribes, until in our own day it became united, as it had long wished to be, under the rule of Victor Emmanuel. It is very doubtful if in heart it is even now a "united Italy." The inhabitants of what was once the kingdom of the Two Sicilies are believed to be as little attached to the central government as the peasantry in the south and west of Ireland are to Great Britain. Any history of Italy must, therefore, be mainly a collection of fragments. To write it during the age of the Italian republics is very like endeavoring to write an early history of Scotland by recounting the feuds and heart-burnings of the clans.

It seems better to interest the reader in personages who shaped history in their day and generation, and by grouping around them the events they shared and influenced, we may secure pictures of the manners and the politics of their times.

If we take the period from about the terrible year A. D. 1000 to about 1500, when modern history begins with the Reformation, the revival of learning, and the discovery of the New World, these five hundred years form a link in European history between the Roman

empire of the west, and more modern times. This period was formerly called the Dark Ages, and indeed, during one half of it there are few gleams of light that fall upon its history. Heretics and barbarians spoiled and ravaged the coasts of Italy. In Northern Italy wars between the Germans and the Lombards laid waste that most beautiful and fertile country. The Saracens, who had established themselves in Spain, and conquered the islands of the Mediterranean, committed constant depredations on Italian coasts; the Greek emperor claimed jurisdiction over Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Ravenna, Bari, Gæta, Amalfi, and even Rome itself. The gallant Normans (Danes or Northmen) who had set up their authority in what are now the eastern counties in England, had placed Danish kings upon the English throne, carved out a duchy for themselves in the northern part of France, planted a colony in Russia, and were so great a terror to the Christian population of every country within their reach, that a petition was added to the litany in the church service: "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord deliver us!" In Germany wild Magyar tribes, the Huns and the Avars, wasted and despoiled as far as Belgium. The seas were infested by pirates, and life in those days must have been full of distress and terror. Then, too, the relations of the church to those within its fold were unsettled, and the great dispute between the successors of Charlemagne and the popes, destined to be carried on for three centuries, and to divide Italy into Guelphs and Ghibellines, was approaching a crisis.

We call this the Age of Chivalry, and are delighted

to read about it in romances. "It was," says a writer in *Blackwood*, reviewing Mr. Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*, "a world which certainly stands out in strong contrast to our modern age, when damsels in distress apply at once to their lawyers, and the only real contests between knights and gentlemen are carried on by a good deal of tall talk in the House of Commons. But in order to have enjoyed life in the Age of Chivalry we must all have been either beautiful ladies or tall knights—six feet high and stout in proportion. It would have been an uncomfortable world for some of us dyspeptic moderns, whose stock of animal spirits is limited and irregular; and there was a 'fat knight,' whom we seem to remember in some of those circumstantial narratives, who was always coming to grief quite undeservedly."

We have said that the year 1000 was "a terrible" year. It was that in which the majority of people in the Christian world expected the Day of Judgment. Fields were left untilled, all private enterprises were abandoned. The panic was worst in France, but it spread into Germany and Italy.

When Charlemagne espoused the cause of the pope in his quarrel with the Lombard monarchy, he comprehended the beauty of a civilization which his predecessors had witnessed only to destroy. He made it his duty and his glory to govern the country he had conquered, and to promote the common good. He did more. In concert with Pope Leo III. he made out of his Italian conquests a western Roman Empire, which he considered the representative of order and justice in contrast to barbaric force, and on Christ-

mas day, in the year 800, he received from Pope Leo, with the full approbation of the Roman people, the title of Roman emperor and the name of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, which no prince before him had so well deserved. He governed Italy and all his other states for forty years, establishing the reign of law, and promoting civilization; but barbarism was too strong for him, and when he died, in 814, it was re-established throughout his late dominions. For seventy years after his death, sovereigns, either Italian or Burgundian, who were all allied to the race of the Franks, disputed the crown of Italy and the empire.

Otho the Great, while only king of Germany (for he had not received the golden crown at Rome) forced Berenger, the last king of Lombardy, to be his vassal. They were also rivals in love, for Berenger having seized and imprisoned the beautiful Adelheid, widow of Lothaire, Otho's predecessor, desired to marry her to his son. But Adelheid, making her escape, placed herself under the protection of the Count of Tuscany at Canossa. The count appealed on her behalf to King Otho, who espoused her cause, marched into Italy, married her himself, and in 961 was crowned in Rome with the title of emperor. He then banished Berenger to Hamburg, where he died in captivity.

When Otho conquered Northern Italy, he established the feudal system, which was an institution hereditary among his northern people. The soil of Lombardy was soon covered with feudal castles, and its cities began to rebuild their ruined walls. Then the power of the towns rapidly increased. They had retained their old municipal institutions; people from all parts

of the country sought refuge in them from oppression. Such exiles everywhere were sure of a good reception, for each city, feeling that it had strength only in proportion to the number of its citizens, vied with its neighbors in its efforts to augment its means of defense, and in the cordiality with which it received strangers.

The barons in their castles found it greatly to their advantage to afford protection to their rural neighbors, and to cultivate friendly relations with them. The result was that the rural population in Lombardy rapidly increased, and the country for a few years enjoyed peace and prosperity. The cities enclosed themselves with walls, and the bishops declared themselves independent of all feudal masters, except the emperor. The latter made common cause with the ecclesiastics and the citizens. The emperors, like other rulers of the period, were anxious to break the power of their great vassals. Many scandals had arisen in Rome during the later years of the tenth century. Popes who had been elected by bribery, or through the favoritism of women, were found wholly unfit for their high office. Otho the Great, in consequence of these scandals, had deprived the Roman people of their power to create popes. Rome, in reprisal, tried to throw off her allegiance to the empire, and asserted her right to become an independent commonwealth. It was at this time that Crescentius was made consul in Rome. He was of discreditable parentage, his mother, a patrician lady, having been the mistress of one of the popes. Crescentius was the idol of the Roman people until Henry III. entered

Rome in 1046 and found three popes disputing the right to be chief pontiff. He deposed all of them, appointed German prelates in their stead, and executed Crescentius, who lives in our memory chiefly because his fate was the subject of a touching ballad by Mrs. Hemans.

Henry IV. succeeded his father as emperor of Germany in 1056. During his long minority, opposition was preparing for him in the person of Hildebrand, the greatest personage of the eleventh century. Hildebrand was a native of Tuscany, and a man of obscure origin. In those days there was no opening for a man of commanding talent and plebeian birth but through the doors of the church, where promotion was open to all men, whether of high or low degree. Hildebrand at first entered a convent, but was sent by his superiors to Cluny in France, a convent of the Benedictines. There, heartsick at the abuses of the church, he dreamed of a complete reformation, not of doctrine, but of the ecclesiastical system. He thought that God being the supreme ruler of all men, His kingdom should be established upon earth, that His vicar or lieutenant was the Roman pontiff, and therefore that all men should be subject to his will. The whole church system having become corrupt, Hildebrand planned earnestly the reformation of its head, its ministers, and the whole body of Christian people. He cursed all intervention of the secular power in the distribution of church dignities. He called such intervention simony. He even included in his anathema investiture of ecclesiastics by temporal princes in temporal dignities. In 1059 he obtained from the Council of the

Lateran a decree that the election of the popes should thenceforth be vested in the cardinals, or rather in prelates who were rectors of some church within the walls of Rome, for which reason all cardinals are even now appointed to some such parochial dignity. All prelates were to be nominated by the chapters of their cathedrals, and the nomination was to be confirmed by the pope. He also insisted on the celibacy of the clergy, that they might be detached from all the influences of human society. Previously, especially in Lombardy, the rule of celibacy had not been enforced. Finally he proclaimed that the pope, when properly appointed, was a being infallible—a god upon earth, who as the representative of the Deity could depose at will rebellious princes, by releasing their subjects from their oaths of fidelity.

A great part of this dream he actually accomplished; he put a new spirit into the popedom, the clergy, and the people. He enslaved kings. By his influence he procured the election of four popes, who he expected would carry out his views, but at length, in 1073, he allowed himself to be elected and took the name of Gregory VII. It was the first time a pope had adopted a new name.

Then began his great struggle with the emperor, Henry IV., a struggle known in history as the War of Investitures. Henry IV. began hostilities by invoking a diet at Worms and deposing and excommunicating Pope Gregory, who responded by deposing and excommunicating the emperor. Then began a war between the papacy on the one hand and the whole power of the empire on the other. The strug-

gle lasted with an occasional interval for about fifty years.

In this combat Pope Gregory received great aid and comfort from Matilda, countess of Tuscany. She was an heiress, whose fiefs stretched from Mantua over the eastern plains of Lombardy, crossed the Apennines, and included Tuscany with part of the duchy of Spoleto. Her residence, as that of other rulers of Tuscany, had been ever in the strong mountain castle of Canossa.

Henry was a man of tender conscience. His contest with one who claimed to be God's vicar upon earth, greatly distressed him. More than once he made submission to the pope, but never thereby gained any remission of Hildebrand's arrogant pretensions. At one time he resolved to abdicate and become a monk, and actually took the vows, when the abbot of the convent he proposed to enter, after reminding him that he had pledged himself to obey every command laid on him by his superiors, ordered him to resume his scepter, and fulfil his duties as an emperor.

The German bishops, terrified by the thunders of the church, deserted the party of their sovereign, and at last were willing to give up their emperor to be tried by the pope, whom they requested to come to Augsburg for that purpose.

This completed Henry's discomfiture. He took the extraordinary resolution of suddenly passing the Tyrolean Alps, and presenting himself before Gregory, to implore pardon and absolution. The pope was in the fortress of Canossa in company with his friend the Countess Matilda. At the gates of this stronghold

the emperor presented himself as a humble penitent. He was parted from his few attendants and admitted alone into the courtyard. It was the month of January, 1077, and in the mountains the weather was, of course, bitterly cold. In the courtyard of the castle he was required to remain three days, stripped of his robes, wrapped in sackcloth, barefooted, in the snow, and fasting, until it was the pleasure of the pontiff to admit him to his presence.

But this treatment exasperated not only Henry himself, but his nobles, and their indignation was increased when they found that the pope had incited the two sons of their emperor to rebel.

Gregory did his best to raise all Germany against the emperor, but the nobles and people of Lombardy took Henry's part while the Germans proceeded to choose another emperor, and solemnly crowned Rodolph, duke of Swabia, at Aix-la-Chapelle. But in a battle with Henry's forces, Godfrey de Boullion, the future hero at Jerusalem, cut off the hand of Rodolph by one sweep of his sword blade. No medical assistance was to be had promptly, and the unfortunate Rodolph, bleeding to death, demanded that his severed hand should be brought to him, when he addressed it, saying that it deserved its fate, for it had taken the oath of allegiance to Henry, which he, its master, had violated perfidiously, aspiring to an honor that was not his due.

The defeat of Rodolph must have been a great blow to Gregory, who had issued a prophetic anathema against Henry, depriving him by his authority as God's representative on earth, of *strength in combat*; con-

demning him *never to be victorious*; and winding up by appealing to St. Peter and St. Paul to make their power felt by all kings and princes, that they might not dare to oppose the orders of the church. It also implored them that justice might be so speedily executed upon Henry, that no man might doubt he fell a victim to apostolic wrath and not by chance.

When the Countess Matilda died she left all her dominions, as she had promised Pope Gregory, to the reigning pope and his successors. A large part of her lands became what has been since known as the States of the Church, which though always a hotbed of revolutionary fervor, were never alienated from the papacy until Victor Emmanuel became ruler of Italy. Dante, in his *Purgatorio*, speaks much of this lady, whom he makes the representative of those who do much for the church in contrast with contemplative women. Longfellow, in his notes on Dante, quoting from Napier's *History of Florence*, says: "Whatever may be thought of her chivalrous support, her bold defense, and her deep devotion to the church, it was in perfect harmony with the spirit of that age. Her unflinching adherence to the cause she conscientiously embraced was far more noble than the conduct of Emperor Henry, who, swinging between the extremes of unmeasured insolence and abject humiliation, died a victim to papal influence over superstitious minds."

Another great gift fell to the papacy, when the pope was offered by the Norman adventurer, Robert Guiscard, suzerainty over his conquests in Southern Italy. When the Greek emperors ceded Lombardy to the Lombard kings, they retained some cities on the

coast of the Adriatic and some upon the Mediterranean. Among the former was Venice, which paid tribute annually to the Greek emperor by sending him a robe of cloth of gold; others were Ravenna and Bari. The southern coasts of Northern and Central Italy were dotted by Greek colonies, each clustered around some city governed by a nearly independent chief who owed nominal allegiance to the emperor at Constantinople. Early in the eleventh century some Norman knights on a pilgrimage to an Italian shrine, chanced to encounter a Greek exile from the town of Bari. Moved by his promises and the story of his wrongs, they returned to Normandy and there collected a small force for the deliverance of Apulia from its oppressors. These Normans did not come in their long ships, but crossed the Alps as pilgrims, and presented themselves as knights when they reached Apulia. But they were so few in number that they failed in their expedition against Bari, and became a band of free lances, wandering among the mountains and valleys of Southern Italy. Their discipline and prowess were speedily recognized, and their assistance was sought in every domestic quarrel. They soon attracted to themselves other Norman adventurers, among them the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, grandfather of the crusading hero of Tasso's *Gerusalemme*. These young men, on arriving in Southern Italy, joined some Greeks who were attacking some Saracens in the country. Pope Leo IX., one of the predecessors of Gregory VII., becoming alarmed at the vicinity of such formidable and restless neighbors, made an alliance with the German and Greek emperors to subdue them. Three

thousand Normans, under two of Tancred's sons, utterly routed the force brought against them. The pope, driven from the field, was pursued by the Normans, and when overtaken, was to his surprise surrounded by his late foes who implored his benediction. Peace was made and friendship established between the head of the church and the Normans of Southern Italy.

The most brilliant of the family was Robert, known in history as Robert Guiscard. He remained a staunch friend of the papacy, and in return for many favors from Nicholas II. and Pope Gregory, proposed, for greater security of title, to hold his conquests under the nominal suzerainty of the Holy See.

In 1081, Henry IV., having subdued his enemies in Germany, set out for Italy in order to settle his appointee, Clement III., upon the papal throne. The gates of Rome were closed against him, and he besieged the city for two years. When at last it surrendered he found that Gregory had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, whence he defied and again excommunicated his conqueror. Henry, however, was crowned emperor by a new pope with the consent and concurrence of the Roman senate and people. Then he proceeded to take the castle of St. Angelo, and to make Gregory his prisoner, but when he was recalled to Lombardy, Robert Guiscard took advantage of his absence to release Gregory and carry him to Salerno, where he died not long after, A. D. 1085. His last words were: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."

It only remains in this chapter to tell the fate of

Henry. The death of his great adversary brought him no peace. New troubles and fresh rivalries distracted Germany, but everything yielded to the emperor's valor.

In Italy, however, enemies were embroiling his affairs. Popes and anti-popes were elected, and Urban II. stirred up Henry's son Conrad to rebel. The death of Conrad did not relieve the situation, for Pope Pascal I. induced young Henry to make war upon his father. Through treachery the emperor fell into the hands of his son. A diet was called, presided over by the pope's legate, who again pronounced sentence of excommunication against the captured emperor. Two archbishops were sent to him to inform him of his deposition and to demand that he should give up the *regalia* to his son. After some remonstrance on his part, and much insolence on that of the deputation, the unhappy emperor retired, but soon reappeared wearing his royal robes and ornaments. Then, seating himself on his chair of state, he addressed the archbishops thus: "Behold the marks of that royalty with which I was invested by God and the princes of the empire. If you disregard the wrath of heaven and the eternal reproaches of mankind, so much as to lay violent hands upon your sovereign, you may strip me of them. I am not in a condition to defend myself."

They took him at his word; they seized his golden crown, tore off his royal robes, and dragged him from his chair of state. As they did so, Henry, with tears dropping fast down his cheeks, exclaimed: "Great God! Thou art a God of vengeance; Thou wilt repay this outrage! I have sinned, I own, and have merited

shame by the follies of my youth, but Thou wilt not fail to punish these traitors for their insolence, ingratitude, and perjury!"

He was so ill provided for by the barbarity of his son, that, having been already admitted into holy orders, he attempted to procure a canonry in the Cathedral of Spire, imploring, as it was prophesied concerning the descendants of the wicked sons of Eli: "Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priest's offices that I may eat a piece of bread."

He escaped from confinement, however, and reached Cologne, where he was once more recognized as the lawful emperor. He was raising an army and was opening negotiations with the pope, when he died at Liege, A. D. 1106, in the fifty-sixth year of his age and forty-ninth of his reign.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

Charlemagne, Roman emperor, 800-814. Otho the Great, crowned 961; establishes feudal system. Walled cities; feudal barons; increase of rural population in Lombardy. Age of Chivalry; the "terrible year," 1000 A. D. Corruption of the church; Hildebrand (Gregory VII., 1073-85); Matilda of Tuscany; Henry IV. and War of Investitures. Gifts to the papacy: Matilda's Tuscan estates and Robert Guiscard's Norman possessions in Southern Italy.

1. Why does the history of Italy present peculiar difficulties to the historian? 2. How was Northern Italy despoiled during the period of the Dark Ages? 3. How did the country suffer from the Saracens? 4. What cities were claimed by the Greek emperor? 5. In what parts of Europe were the Normans powerful at this time? 6. How did the condition of the church add to the anarchy of this time? 7. What sharp contrasts does the "Age of Chivalry" present? 8. Why was the year 1000

called the "terrible" year? 9. How was Charlemagne's influence felt in Italy? 10. How did Otho the Great establish his power in Italy? 11. What followed the establishment of feudal castles in Lombardy? 12. How did the emperors seek to curtail the power of their vassals? 13. How did Rome try to become an independent commonwealth? 14. Who was Hildebrand? 15. What reforms in the church did he accomplish? 16. Who was Matilda of Tuscany, and in what way did she serve the church? 17. Describe the struggle between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. 18. What temporal possessions came to the church at this time? 19. What circumstances led to papal control of Southern Italy? 20. Under what circumstances did Gregory VII. close his life? 21. Describe the last years of Henry IV.

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CHAPTER II

FREE CITIES — THE CONQUEST OF SICILY — FREDERICK BARBAROSSA

During the distracted years of storm and stress which marked the course of the turbulent eleventh century, the free cities of Italy were steadily growing in wealth, in importance, and in a spirit that desired self-government. It may be remarked that they had no patriotic feeling for Italy as their fatherland. Their patriotism, though intense, was limited to their own city. Their aim was municipal autonomy. But the mass of the people did not expect to be represented in the government. The "parliaments" which met in the open air were assemblies of burghers, summoned by authority, and to them the word *popolo* was applied, to the exclusion of the more numerous population of the city—men of foreign or barbarian race, who were expected only to obey. Each city elected chief officers, and called them consuls, but at first they had no jurisdiction, they were only law officers, whose duty was to plead the cause of the inhabitants of the city in any cases that might be brought before the bishop's court, or that of his representative. But after a century of struggle the burghers became independent of lordship with a fully organized government, self-guarded in its several assemblies.

The maritime cities, Genoa, Pisa, and Venice (the

latter still nominally owed fealty to the Greek emperor) were in advance of the inland towns and were rapidly acquiring independent autonomy.

Having rebuilt their walls, the first object of the citizens was to have a force to defend them. The larger cities, as has been said, welcomed exiles and strangers, and before long they attempted to form leagues and confederacies. Every city soon had a military force. When it went to war—and it was seldom at peace—its soldiers rallied round the *carroccio*, a float drawn by oxen, dressed with flags, and accompanied by trumpeters. In its center was a high pole bearing the standard of the city, beneath which stood an altar on which a priest elevated the host and said mass daily. The *carroccio* formed a rallying point in battle, reminding the armed artisans that they had a city and a church to fight for; and so great was the enthusiasm they felt for that city, that we never hear of an instance of panic or defection.

Haribert, archbishop of Milan in 1024, invented the *carroccio*, which being speedily adopted by other cities, played an important part in their continual warfare; animating the soldiers who followed it, and consolidating them into a formidable band of warriors, very different in spirit from the semi-barbarian Germans and bands of mercenaries who made up the armies brought by the emperors into Italy.

Besides the *carroccio*, Milan owed to Haribert the idea of the commune. It was he who organized the voiceless, defenseless population into a community capable of expressing its needs, and an army ready to maintain the rights of the people. He was himself

the supreme ruler of Milan, but under him the citizens first formed themselves into a *parlamento*, and the word *popolo* was applied to the governing or burgher class.

Each city governed itself and had a little tract of country over which it held sway. But the cities, when they felt their strength, wanted to be stronger. The larger ones, like Milan, Pavia, or Pisa, wanted to force all neighboring villages and lesser cities to join in a confederation, and when these objected, they were not infrequently attacked and razed to the ground.

Milan became the chief city of Lombardy, and was devoted to the church; Pavia was devoted to the emperor. In other words, Milan was Guelph and Pavia was Ghibelline. These words came into use in Italy shortly after the death of Henry IV., when a war broke out in Germany between two rival candidates for the imperial throne. One party (that of a Bavarian prince) took his name, Welf or Guelph, the other, in compliment to its leader, a duke of Swabia, who was born at Waiblingen, took the name of Ghibellines. The reader, unfamiliar with history, finds it somewhat unreasonable that the adherents of the pope should be called Guelphs, and those of the German emperor Ghibellines. But it was so, and we do well not to forget it.

Before we take up the history of Henry, the unnatural son of Henry IV., we may pause to say a few words about the Norman race, who ruled in the Two Sicilies.

Robert Guiscard, under especial protection of the popes, pursued his triumphs in Southern Italy. The

Italian conquests of Robert accord with what was called, subsequently, the kingdom of Naples. Pope Nicholas II. invested him with all the lands his sword might conquer "from schismatic Greeks or unbelieving Saracens." The enterprising little republic of Amalfi, and Salerno, the chief seat of learning in Christendom, acknowledged Norman Robert as their nominal protector. He was at the height of his power when Roger, his youngest brother, arrived from Normandy. Roger had set his heart on conquering Sicily from the Greeks and Saracens. He invaded it with only sixty followers, but Robert came over to his help, when assured that the enterprise would be successful. When that was certain, the pope put forth a bull not only investing Roger and his heirs with temporal sovereignty over Sicily, but making them in that island hereditary legates of the Holy See.

Robert Guiscard was not succeeded by Bohemund, his eldest son (whose mother he had divorced), but by a younger son, named Roger, on whose death the great Roger, conqueror of Sicily, became heir to the kingdom of Naples and was father of a long line of kings of the Two Sicilies. That model of all knighthood, Tancred the Crusader, was nephew to Robert Guiscard on the mother's side, and grandson of Tancred de Hauteville, the founder of his family.

Henry V. the unnatural son, whose cause Pope Pascal had espoused, turned against the priests after he had received the golden crown. For sixteen years he made war against the church to maintain the rights of secular sovereigns.

The war of the investitures, which lasted sixty

years, brought with it a long train of woes and ruin, but it made the people of Italy more patriotic, so far as each man's love for his own city was concerned; it taught men how to fight, and it trained them to self-government. It also broke up the feudal system. Nobles were compelled to leave their castles part of the year to become burghers, and to reside in their own cities. They also formed the cavalry in the army of citizens.

The inhabitants of Pisa and Genoa, hardy mariners accustomed to fight pirates and Saracens in their pursuit of commerce, attacked the Mohammedans in Sardinia and the Balearic Isles. Venice, Pisa, and Genoa had more vessels on the Mediterranean than all Christendom besides. They seconded the crusaders with enthusiasm. The Venetians assert that in 1099 they sent two hundred vessels to aid the First Crusade. The Pisans sent out their archbishop, with an escort of one hundred and twenty vessels; the Genoese could send only twenty-eight galleys and six other vessels, but all were animated with the crusading spirit.

In A. D. 1111, Henry V. entered Italy with a large army, but failing in his attempt to intimidate Pope Pascal II., he proceeded to make him prisoner. After defeating the Romans in a battle outside their walls, where the waters of the Tiber ran blood in consequence of the carnage, he brought the pope to terms, and received the golden crown. But the solemn reconciliation of the church to the empire did not last, the war was renewed, the emperor entered Rome in triumph, and the pope sought refuge in Apulia. At length the princes and people of Germany, weary

of such strife, besought Henry to offer terms of peace. A diet was held at Worms in 1122, which put an end to the dispute concerning investiture. Henry gave up his pretensions to invest bishops by the ring and crozier (symbols of ecclesiastical authority), and the pope conceded him the right to invest them as temporal princes, by giving them the scepter.

Henry died at Utrecht two years later. He had married Matilda, daughter of Henry II., of England, but it was a childless marriage. A contest rose in Germany for the imperial succession. On the death of Conrad III., the crown was offered to Frederick Barbarossa, duke of Swabia, A. D. 1152. He was connected with both the rival factions in Germany, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, and his elevation gave general satisfaction. There have been two Barbarossas (or Red Beards) in the history of modern Europe, one the emperor, the other a celebrated pirate in the fifteenth century.

When Frederick Barbarossa had somewhat composed the disturbances in Germany, he marched into Italy, determined to punish the free city of Milan, which had boldly asserted its independence. He marched his army, with no base of supplies, expecting food, forage, and lodging for his troops according to dues owed by his vassals to their feudal lord. Milan agreed to furnish these things, but the march of the Germans through Milanese territory being delayed by heavy rains, they found themselves one night without rations; and the soldiers avenged themselves on the rural inhabitants by pillaging and burning their villages.

Postponing the punishment of Milan for a time, Frederick marched to Rome. The pope at that day was Adrian IV.—Nicholas Breakspear, the only Englishman ever promoted to the papal chair. He was of peasant birth, and had been a mendicant for some years, when a convent received him, educated him, and his great talents and strength of character did the rest. He had been much annoyed by the preaching of a young monk, a pupil of Abelard, called Arnold of Brescia, whose addresses had stirred the people of Rome into sympathy with Milan, and a desire to make Rome also a free city. Frederick and his army, when they reached Rome, did not enter the gates of the city. They encamped beyond the Tiber in what is called the Leonine City, a suburb which surrounds the Vatican. There Frederick was crowned by the pope, while his soldiers were fighting the Roman populace, who crowded over the bridge of San Angelo to disturb the ceremony. This consisted not only of bestowing the crown, but Pope Adrian insisted that in the character of his vassal the emperor should kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and lead his horse. Frederick had great difficulty in bringing himself to accept these terms, but when all was over, being anxious to propitiate the pontiff, he gave up to him Arnold of Brescia, who had fallen into his hands. Arnold was tried for heresy—not what is usually known by that name, but for “political heresy.” He was hanged, and his body was burned opposite the gate of the castle of St. Angelo.

After this Frederick marched back to Lombardy. His troops had suffered much from sickness and fa-

tigue, and many had deserted him. The attack upon Milan was postponed, but the city was put under the ban of the empire, and all the lands of the surrounding territory laid waste. His soldiers mowed down the corn, destroyed all prospect of a harvest, cut down the vine-stocks, and barked the fruit trees. The Milanese saw clearly that they must perish, but if they did it would be for the honor and liberty of Italy. They were resolved to leave a good example to their countrymen, and to future generations.

For six months Crema, a small city in Milanese territory, otherwise little known to history, defended itself with extraordinary bravery. At length famine forced it to capitulate, and the heroic inhabitants evacuated their city, abandoning their wealth to pillage and their houses to the flames.

But this kind of tedious warfare wore out the patience of the German soldiers, who claimed that they had completed their terms of feudal service, and the army of Frederick melted away. The emperor, however, determined to remain in Italy and trust to the fidelity of his Ghibelline soldiers until a new army should arrive from Germany to his aid. In the summer of 1161 these fresh troops joined him, the new recruits being far more ferocious than their more experienced predecessors. It was three years since Milan had been placed under the ban of the empire, and its heroic inhabitants who had been under arms all that time were at length forced by an accidental fire, which destroyed their magazines of grain, to surrender at discretion. Frederick was not cruel, according to the standard of cruelty in his time. He spared

their lives, but required that every living being should quit the city; then he summoned all the Ghibelline soldiers from the neighboring cities and gave them orders to raze to the earth the houses as well as the walls of the town. The more wealthy inhabitants sought hospitality in neighboring cities, where their sufferings, their sacrifices, and their valor made proselytes to the cause of liberty. That cause, too, was strengthened by general indignation at the system of government established by the emperor. The foreign *podestas*, whom he made rulers in every city, excited widespread hostility by their injustice and exactions. Taxes were augmented sixfold. The Italians, whether Guelph or Ghibelline, were reduced to a state of suffering and humiliation.

A new pope had to be elected in 1159; the church's candidate was Alexander III., the people's candidate Victor III. The emperor favored Victor. Almost all Christendom, however, declared for Alexander. A new city was built in Lombardy and called Alexandria, while the emperor desired it should bear the name of Cæsaria in his honor.

In 1163 Frederick came back to Italy, accompanied not by an army, but by a brilliant train of German nobles. He took up his residence at Lodi, where he assembled a diet, and promised the Lombards to redress their grievances. He wanted to separate their cause from that of the pope and his ally, the Norman king in Southern Italy.

In July, 1167, Frederick again marched on Rome. Meantime, Italian feeling brought about a union of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. They formed a con-

federation, which was called the League of Lombardy. The consuls of the cities took an oath, and the citizens afterward repeated it, that every Lombard should unite for the recovery of their common liberty, that the league should be in force for twenty years, and that the cities entering into it should aid each other in repairing any damage sustained in the cause of liberty. In consequence of this the cities of the league prepared to rebuild Milan. Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Mantua, Verona, and Treviso sent their contingents.

After the rebuilding of Milan, Venice, Placentia, Parma, and Modena voluntarily joined the League of Lombardy.

For some years after his expedition to Rome, which proved unsuccessful, Frederick himself did not reënter Italy, but he sent a certain archbishop named Christian, arch-chancellor of the empire, as his representative. The first effort of this ecclesiastic was to establish peace between Pisa and Genoa, rivals for the commerce of the East. The Pisans being unwilling to adopt his views, he threw their consuls into a dungeon, and did the same with the consuls of Florence, promising the nobles of other towns in Tuscany, Romagna, and Umbria to revenge them on their enemies if they would first coöperate in crushing the enemies of the emperor. By this he meant assisting him in the subjugation of Ancona. For ages the citizens of that beautiful town, favored by their situation, had repulsed the attacks of the barbarians, and maintained their independence.

The archbishop, with an army of Ghibellines, laid siege to it, and hunger proved his ally. But great as

was the distress of the inhabitants of Ancona, they disdained to capitulate. The Guelphs of Ferrara and the Romagna sent them assistance, and the archbishop, seeing their succors about to arrive, gave up the siege and retreated.

After an absence of seven years Frederick, with an army, again entered Italy. The new city of Alexandria, called after the pope, but which the Germans, in derision, called a city of straw walls, was so gallantly defended by its citizens that it held out four months against the power of the emperor, and on Easter day, 1175, Frederick, with his troops, discouraged and exhausted, marched back to Pavia.

This last check disheartened the emperor. He was ready to negotiate. His enemies all expressed an ardent desire to reconcile the prerogatives of the emperor and the rights of the Roman Church, with those of liberty. But the pretensions of Frederick could not be reconciled with more of the cities, which demanded independence. The negotiations were broken off, and in the spring of 1176 war was resumed. Frederick, indignant at the recovered prestige and power of Milan, marched into Milanese territory; there he encountered the Milanese army fifteen miles from Milan. An impetuous charge of the German cavalry made the Lombards give away, but in their army there was a company of nine hundred young men from Milan, who had devoted themselves to the defense of their city, and called themselves the Company of Death. Seeing that the *carroccio* was in danger, they all knelt down for a moment, invoking the protection of God and the patron saint of their city, then, rising, they advanced

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with such impetuosity that the Germans were pressed back. Their whole army was put to flight, and the emperor and his knights were compelled to seek safety by hiding. For some days Frederick was reported dead, and he reached Pavia to find his wife mourning for him.

This defeat at Lugano determined Frederick seriously to seek for peace. Negotiations were opened at Venice, and finally signed at Constance, June 25, 1183. The negotiations bore upon three different points: 1, the reconciliation of the emperor with the church, thus closing the schism; 2, peace between the emperor of the East, the emperor of the West, and the king of the Two Sicilies; 3, reconciliation of the cities that joined the League of Lombardy with those that had refused to join it.

By this treaty of Constance the emperor acknowledged the right of the confederated cities to levy armies, to enclose themselves with walls, and within their own limits to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction. Consuls acquired the same power as if they had been the emperor's lieutenants, and the cities of Lombardy were further authorized to extend their confederation. They in return agreed to maintain the just rights of the emperor, defined by the treaty, but to avoid disputes it was stipulated that these rights might at any time be bought off by an annual payment of two thousand marks of silver.

"Thus terminated," says Sismondi, "in the establishment of a legal liberty the first and most noble struggle which the nations of modern Europe have ever maintained against despotism."

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

Free cities; Milan, Archbishop Haribert, the *carroccio* and the commune. Protection or oppression of smaller communities by the larger cities. Milan allied to the church; Pavia to the emperor; Guelphs and Ghibellines. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies; Roger the Conqueror, Tancred the Crusader. Pisa and Genoa attack the Mohammedans in Sardinia and in the Balearic Isles. Venice sends 200 vessels on the First Crusade in 1099. Henry V. and diet at Worms, 1122. The emperor retains temporal sovereignty, the pope ecclesiastical authority. Effects of the long War of Investitures, feudal system broken up, cities trained in self-government. Frederick Barbarossa, 1152, Pope Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspear), and Arnold of Brescia. Frederick's long struggle with the Guelph cities. The League of Lombardy. The Peace of Constance, 1183; rights of the cities secured.

1. What was the nature of Italian patriotism in the eleventh century? 2. What kind of self-government did the free cities enjoy? 3. Of what importance was the *carroccio*? 4. What did Milan owe to Archbishop Haribert? 5. What was the attitude of the strong cities toward their weak neighbors? 6. How did the terms Guelph and Ghibelline arise? 7. Describe the conquest of Sicily. 8. How did the wars between pope and emperor affect the people of Northern Italy? 9. What part did Italy play in the crusades? 10. How was the quarrel over investitures finally settled? 11. Who was Frederick Barbarossa? 12. Describe the events attending his coronation at Rome. 13. What was the siege of Crema? 14. Describe the overthrow of Milan. 15. What was the League of Lombardy and what its object? 16. What efforts did Archbishop Christian make to subdue the Lombard cities? 17. What battle finally brought Frederick to terms? 18. What rights did the cities secure by the Treaty of Constance?

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CHAPTER III

EFFECTS OF THE PEACE OF CONSTANCE—DEATH OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA—ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI—FREDERICK II.—TUMULTS AND DIS- ORDERS IN THE CITIES

As a result of the Peace of Constance, the Italian cities grew proud of their new position. They became confederates of the emperor, whose recent concessions had not failed to make him popular. And it is due to the princes of his house to say that for sixty-seven years after the Peace of Constance they made no attempt to infringe its conditions.

Yet it was not long before the cities, though they fought no longer for independence, fought fiercely in the dispute between the emperors and pontiffs; affection for the church or loyalty to the emperor continuing to influence men's minds for more than half a century. The popes had no wish to be reduced to the position of first bishops of the church of Rome, which would speedily have been the case, if the suzerainty of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies had passed over to the emperor; for this end Frederick had married Henry, his son and heir, whom he had already crowned king in Germany, to Constance, a Norman princess, sole heiress of the house of Robert Guiscard.

When news reached Europe that Saladin had taken Jerusalem, in October, 1187, all Christendom was

struck with consternation, and Frederick Barbarossa placed himself at the head of the Third Crusade for the liberation of the Holy Land.

This was the crusade made memorable by the chivalrous deeds of Richard Cœur de Lion. When Frederick took the cross his example was followed by his younger son, Frederick of Swabia, and by many of the most distinguished German nobles, and ecclesiastics, as well as laymen. Their rendezvous was at Ratisbon, and to prevent the misfortunes which had befallen previous crusaders, Frederick decreed that no man should take the cross who could not afford to spend three marks of silver. In spite of this precaution, his army swelled to one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men, well armed and well provided with necessaries.

Before leaving Europe, Frederick made a progress through the chief cities of his dominions, accompanied by Henry, his eldest son. Then selecting thirty thousand of his best men, he marched by way of Vienna into Hungary, and was there joined by the rest of his army. The Greek emperor, Isaac Angelus, was found to be by no means friendly, he was more favorable to Saladin than to the crusaders. Frederick attacked a body of his Greek subjects who attempted to take him by surprise, and laid the surrounding country under contribution. Having wintered at Adrianople he crossed the Hellespont in the spring of 1190, fought several battles with the infidels in Asia Minor, and filled the followers of Mahomet with terror. He seemed to be among the soldiers of the cross what Saladin was among his people—an able politician and a good general often much tried by fortune.

When nearly seventy years of age he met his death, in June, 1190, by plunging into the cold river Cydnus in order to refresh himself after a sultry day's march in the height of summer. A stroke of apoplexy seized him as he came out of the water, and his immense army made no figure in the crusade after it lost its leader.

But German tradition thinks that Frederick Barbarossa is not yet dead, that he is only sleeping until some great catastrophe menaces the empire, when he shall be called to life again and rescue Germany. He sits within a hill near Salzburg, say the peasants, their fancy excited by strange noises in the heart of the mountains. A peasant, once stumbling into his place of burial, saw him seated at a marble table, leaning on his elbow, apparently but half asleep; in the course of centuries his beard had grown through the stone itself and streamed out upon the floor. He looked at the peasant, asked him what time it was, and then closed his eyes again in sleep. It was not his hour to awake just then.

Henry VI., his son and successor, received the news of his father's death almost at the time he learned that of his father-in-law, and thus was led to consider himself at once emperor of Germany, king of Lombardy, and by right of his wife, king of the Two Sicilies. He marched into the latter country and distinguished himself by his cruelties. But his career was short. He died suddenly in 1197, leaving an infant son, whose mother, Constance, died a year later.

The child, Frederick II., was placed under the protection of the pope, and acknowledged king of the

Two Sicilies. He was crowned king of Germany at Aix-la-Chapelle with great magnificence in 1215, after humbling his rival, Otho, who in his turn, during his minority, had usurped the empire.

But before we enter on an account of his reign, or take up the struggle that began between the burghers and the nobles of Italy, we will turn aside from wars and tumults to relate the history of a man born in 1182, who was destined to exert a mighty influence on Christianity.

His name was Francisco Bernadone. We know him as St. Francis of Assisi. Pietro Bernadone, his father, lived in that beautiful Umbrian city through all the disturbed period of Italian history of which we have been treating.¹ He was a prosperous cloth-merchant who kept a shop in his own city, but traveled with his goods to neighboring countries. On one of his journeys he met and married Pica, a young girl of noble origin in Provence. Pietro Bernadone may be taken as a type of the well-to-do tradesman and burgher of his times. He had engrafted on the rough faults of the plebeian the smoother defects of the *parvenu*. He adored pomp and pretension; he was eager for gain; not much given to courtesy; and at times he could give way to fits of brutal anger. On the other hand, he was active and energetic, not slothful in business, and he did his duty as it was understood by his class in his community.

In his disputes with his oldest son (who by no means turned out as he had hoped) we see that he

¹ This account of St. Francis is abridged from an interesting article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, by Arvède Barine, translated for the *Living Age*, May 21, 1892.

never objected to the lad's schemes for going to the wars, or for social advancement, but he did his best to hinder him from following out his tendency to mysticism, from developing in short into what in the eyes of a burgher of those days was a "ne'er do well."

It was not thought unreasonable in those days that young men should comport themselves like unbroken colts, and Francisco Bernadone's conduct was of that description, but it is only just to say that for his follies every one in his city admired him. He was always "so lovable," said one of his biographers.

Francisco's schooling did not amount to anything. He was a bad scholar, nor did he remain long at school, his father wanted him to measure cloth, and cared nothing for his studies. The young man applied himself steadily to business, and soon become a favorite with his father's customers. Meantime he was acquiring much knowledge that was wholly unknown to the priests of San Giorgio, who had had charge of his education. His mind had received an impress from Provençal poetry, that nothing in after life ever effaced, and he also had Nature for his teacher; long as he lived he loved her with unvarying affection, above all he desired that the very humblest of God's creatures, plant, insect, or bird, should enjoy its share of earthly happiness so far as it was capable of doing.

This did not prevent him in early youth from assisting in an attempt made by the citizens of Assisi to get rid of a certain German count whom the emperor, Frederick II., had imposed on them as their ruler.

At that period of Francisco's life he was a warlike

stripling, impatient for adventure, for conquest, and for glory—above all for knighthood, which, although he was not of noble birth, he made up his mind he could and would attain.

One of the nobles of Assisi gave out that he was about to start on an expedition of adventure, in which, according to the piratical ideas of that day, he proposed to win either wealth or glory. Francisco, with his father's consent, offered to join his company, and started with it from Assisi. But very soon he was laid low by malarial fever, during which he fancied he heard a voice calling to him to return to Assisi. He did so, and soon found himself selling rich wares in his father's shop to his father's astonished customers, who had fancied him on his way to win knighthood, if not a principedom.

There is not space here to tell the history of his conversion. He believed himself to be entrusted with a mission to restore poverty to a place of honor, and make her cease to be a shame, though she might never cease to be considered a misfortune. His preaching seems to have amounted to this: that the sadness and the hopelessness of Christendom proceeded from two causes. He preached that life had been misunderstood—and so had heaven. Men's mistake as to this life had been desire to possess things that are worthless, such as riches, honors, vanities, and superfluities, instead of eagerly desiring that treasure beyond all price which can be found by all who seek for it—the treasure of true liberty! He realized that only a God of love could meet the needs of a world made bitter by suffering. It was necessary that men should under-

stand as a first step to liberty of soul, that the foolishness of the Gospel is true wisdom.

Vaguely from the time when, proud of his prancing steed and his glittering panoply of war, Francisco had set forth from Assisi to win knighthood, and had been turned back by a voice from heaven, he began to apprehend the causes of the mass of grief he saw around him. The groans of those who seemed without hope had always troubled him. He now saw that many sorrowed because the words of the merciful Jesus had been falsified for ages by those whose interest it was to misinterpret the Gospel rather than submit to its restraints. The tender friend of sinners, the man poor but divine, who had not where to lay his head, had in the popular faith given place to a being pompous and severe, whose crown was not of thorns but of gold, who spoke to his people only by the mouths of high ecclesiastics who ranked with counts and barons. Primitive Christianity had fallen into discredit, and the proud system that had taken its place was powerless to offer consolation to the miserable. The moment Francisco perceived this was the turning point of his life.

He was not the first man in Italy who had suspected the origin of the evil. For more than two hundred years protesting voices had been heard from obscure haunts of the indigent, and from humble monasteries; nay remonstrances had sounded occasionally from the pulpit.

There had been always, even in evil times, poor priests and monks full of charity and kindness, whose souls were stirred when they saw an abbot who com-

ported himself like a robber baron, or a bishop engaged in factious strife, and their indignation increased when they turned their eyes upon the Roman hierarchy, and saw how the popes, with some noble exceptions, set the lower clergy an example of violence and iniquity. The popular conscience rebelled against such things, and all around Francisco could hear murmurs of malediction which only wanted occasion to break into revolt—a revolt which occurred later in the Reformation.

The evils of the times which shocked good men were lamentable, yet one does not well see how in those days they could have been avoided—how the popes could have remained faithful to the traditions of primitive Christianity, and have preserved intact their evangelistic virtue in the centuries that followed the irruption into Rome of the barbarians, when the head of the church was exposed like any other man to the danger of being carried off by ruffians or murdered by a rival. In the western world in those days no place was more infested by robbers than Rome itself, no population was more brutal than the Roman people. The Holy City, whether with or without a pope, would have been the lair of greedy cut-throats and of evil-doers, but the presence of the pontiff increased the disorder. The city became the rendezvous of foreign conquerors and successful soldiers of fortune. The holy father lived in the midst of plots and disturbances, and could not even say a mass in security.

From A. D. 897 to A. D. 985 (less than a century) one pope had been poisoned, two had been strangled, and four had died under suspicious circumstances in

prison. Toward the end of the eleventh century, Gregory the Great, having ventured to attack certain great men guilty of simony, was carried off one Christmas night from the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore. In 1118 Gelasius II. was assaulted with stones and arrows while saying mass in another church in Rome. A state of things like this was unendurable, and therefore it came to pass that the papacy shut up the Gospel, and learned to prize before all things wealth, which would buy power and men-at-arms.

The doors of the temple were once more opened to traffic. The pope trafficked himself, and sold everything that men would buy, ecclesiastical dignities, spiritual immunities, temporal sovereignty, things sacred and things profane, without much concern as to who would be the buyer, provided only he would pay for what was sold him.

What was to be expected then took place. Nobles bought bishoprics for men unworthy, or dowered their daughters by the sale of abbeys; great families combined to place some man selected from their own houses on the pontifical throne, hoping thus to secure for themselves the hen that would lay for them eggs of gold.

Under this system the weak could expect no help, the suffering found no pity. Saint Francis founded an order that aimed to help them both; but it never occurred to him to suggest a reformation *outside* of the church—he never doubted the power of the church to work out her reformation from within.

St. Francis and the twelve converts who first adhered to him, had no idea that they were going to found a

religious order. The little band that joined the preacher intended only to do as he had done, embrace poverty and bear a message of peace and good will to all who would hear them.

They went forth two and two, preaching repentance and the remission of sins. Happy was the brother who had St. Francis for a comrade on a journey. As they walked he was continually discovering interesting and beautiful things along the road, and he talked of them so eagerly that his fellow-traveler would be at last persuaded that to dine on a crust under a tree was great enjoyment. The gaiety of St. Francis on these journeys was charming. It was one of his sayings that the devil has small chance with a man who is in good spirits, while the man who bemoans himself, who is sour and sad, runs great risk from the arch enemy.

At length, as the number of his followers increased, St. Francis saw the necessity of drawing up some simple rules to govern them, and decided to submit these rules to the pope. He left Assisi with his eleven disciples and was astonished at the ease with which his object was accomplished. He met the bishop of Assisi on the way, who conducted him to the pope, then Innocent III., who saw at once what important services might be rendered to the church by the proposed order of Mendicant Friars.

The brethren and their leader returned joyfully to the little hut that they inhabited at Postioncule near Assisi. Their numbers increased rapidly. The talk of St. Francis was like a strain of poetry. He taught his friars to love and admire nature. He taught them sympathy with birds and brutes. He loved God with

a child-like adoration which had its influence even upon commonplace people and inspired them with heroism.

About three years after their organization, he said to his disciples: "Let us go forth in the Lord's name and preach the Gospel." The rules he gave them were: Never to sit in judgment upon any man; to be invariably respectful to the clergy whether rich or poor, good or bad; to preach everywhere peace and good will; to love God and to love each other.

New convents of these Minorite Friars, as they were called, sprang up in all directions. There were soon thousands of the brethren who had never seen St. Francis, and had never learned from him how to be gentle and generous without impairing their authority. As his friars swarmed over Italy, St. Francis grew alarmed at their numbers, and was heard to say, "One meets too many of them."

Their most powerful friend and patron was Cardinal Ugolino, who became Pope Gregory IX., in 1216. He gave them a few lessons in worldly wisdom, and also wrote letters to the higher clergy in foreign countries that under their protection preachers of the new order might do their work. Soon "the sect of St. Francis" was spread over all Europe.

Women joined the order under Santa Clara of Assisi, who by the direction of St. Francis, founded the sisterhood of Saint Claire.

At length a third order was established, an order of laymen. Members might lead their ordinary lives. They were not vowed to celibacy, or bound for life, but they pledged themselves not to bear arms, except

in defense of the church, of the faith of Jesus Christ, or of their country, unless by permission of their superiors. This struck a heavy blow at the power of the nobles, which was founded on the service in war of their vassals. The third order was instituted in 1222, and six years later began a great struggle in Italy against the feudal system.

St. Francis undertook the work of a missionary in the latter part of his life, and went to Egypt to convert the sultan, while the crusaders were besieging Damietta. He effected no conversion, but the sultan was so delighted with him that he offered him great possessions if he would remain at his court. The saint and his companion were persecuted to accept all manner of favors, but this was the only persecution they endured.

The last years of the noble saint's life were clouded by the insubordination of some of his followers. When in bad health he endured a fast of forty days on Mount Alverno, and soon after coming down to his convent he died, broken in spirit, for he felt that however great was his popularity among the people, the cause he had at heart had been betrayed. Finding his death hour approaching, he asked those around him to sing his own beautiful "Hymn of the Creation"—a sort of adaptation of the Benedicte; a flock of birds, as he was dying, were chirping on the roof over his head. He died in 1226, but no man knows at this day where he was buried. As his funeral procession was on its way to the mausoleum made ready to receive his corpse, it was assaulted by archers, and in the tumult the coffin disappeared.

But wherever his remains may rest, the work was great that he accomplished. It was not all the work that he expected to achieve, but he left an impress on all forms of intellectual life in Italy. His "Hymn of the Creation" was the first poem in the language of his country. His friars, by his direction, preached in the vulgar tongue. Dante was inspired by his example to write his great poem in Italian, after he had composed many cantos in Latin, and thus Italian literature received its first impulse from St. Francis. Science even profited by his thoughts, though he conceived himself to be an ignorant man. He pointed out the universal harmony which pervades God's creation, and this idea inspired Duns Scotus, of the University of Paris, to commence a revolution in metaphysics which subsequently extended to all sciences. But the highest glory of St. Francis lies in this, that he found the world unhappy, and that he left it less sad.

Yet out of his noble work sprang some of the deepest sorrows and worst sufferings that darken the pages of modern history. Inspired by his example, St. Dominic, at Toulouse, in 1226, established an order of preaching friars to attack and confound heresy, and thence arose the holy office, the terrible institution of the Inquisition.

The contest of the free cities with the emperor to gain their independence having been brought to a conclusion by the Peace of Constance, there was comparative peace in Italy for fifteen years, during which the new republics (or communes) increased in power and prosperity; and then began a terrible struggle between the nobles and the burghers. The nobles felt

the change made in their position when the emperor abandoned his contest with the cities. They, in some measure, no longer had a country, their only security was in their own strength, for the Emperor Frederick, while authorizing the organization of cities, had not thought of giving organization to nobles dispersed in castles. Nearly all the great families, during a century of warfare, had become extinct. While the cities of Lombardy were subject to the emperor, its marches or frontier were guarded by marquises, under whom were counts, etc., according to the feudal system. Of these powerful and princely marquises only four remained, the Marquis d'Este on the Veronese border, and three others in Piedmont. But their feudal power had ceased to exist. Their attachment was solely to the faction which was supported by their family. Some were Guelphs for the popes; some Ghibellines for the emperor. Those who felt themselves secure in their strong castles, possessing still vassals and wealth, were for the most part, attached to the Ghibelline party. Those who lived on accessible eminences, upon plains, or near great towns, with which they were too weak to support a contest, entered into alliance with their citizen neighbors. They demanded to be made citizens, and very soon they took a large share in the administration of the towns that had accepted them. As war was their sole occupation, they and their followers were welcomed in the republics which stood in need of experienced soldiers. Before long they rose to consideration, and thence to power. But if these nobles displayed more talent for war and politics than plebeian burghers, they showed

far less subordination to the laws. They built palaces in the cities which they fortified like castles, from which bands of bravos might emerge at any moment to rob or murder citizens who chanced to be accounted enemies by their master.

The power of the consuls proved insufficient to suppress such disorders, and before long all the cities revived the institution of the *podestas*, which owed its origin to Frederick Barbarossa. The *podesta* was chosen every year. He was an official who was at once a military commander and a judge. Some counselors were associated with him, and his government was called the *signoria*. The system was soon adopted in all the leading cities, and as it was supposed that any citizens promoted to be *podesta*, would be influenced by family or party ties, it was the custom to choose some knight who was either an independent nobleman, or belonged to some other city. But he rarely escaped participation in the deep hatred raging between Guelphs and Ghibellines. And as authority in those times was always exercised with violence and cruelty, and injustice accompanied the enforcement of law, the citizens almost universally conceived great hatred for the nobles who were accused of having introduced disorder within their walls.

Pope Innocent III. was a Roman noble, and was only thirty-seven years of age when he was raised to the papal chair by his reputation for sanctity and learning. But though he never seemed to desire power for himself, the power of the church he served was of supreme importance in his eyes. He founded the order of Dominicans or Black Friars, and sent

them forth to preach against heresy. He confided to them in the country of the Albigenses the power of the Inquisition, though the holy office at that time had not been so fully organized as it was a century later.

But while Innocent III. aimed to increase the authority of the church over the sovereigns of Europe, he permitted the Romans under his own eye to establish a republican municipal government. Rome, like the other Italian republics, soon had a foreign military chief, chosen for one year, and assisted by civil judges, dependent on himself. He bore the name of *senator* instead of *podesta*.

Pisa, at this time, had become a very powerful city. It had sixty-four castles or fortified towns on the coast of Tuscany. It was a strictly Ghibelline city. The emperors had conferred upon it Corsica, Elba and other islands which it wrested from the Saracens.

Florence was of the Guelph party; it was attached to the pope, whoever occupied the papal chair, and it invariably opposed the emperor. Many illustrious Ghibelline families, however, lived in Florence, apparently on good terms with their Guelph neighbors, when on an unhappy day in 1215 an affront offered to a daughter of the Donati in Florence by a Guelph nobleman, to whom she had been promised in marriage, and who broke off the engagement, stirred up the Ghibelline families who were numerous in the city. The young man was killed as he was crossing the Ponte Vecchio. Forty-two families of the Guelph party met, and swore that blood must atone for blood. Every day some new murder or some new fight dis-

turbed the peace of Florence, and this feud lasted during the space of thirty-three years.

Frederick II., grandson of Barbarossa, and king of the Two Sicilies, was crowned emperor in 1220. The young king then set himself to restore order in his hereditary dominions. He was thoroughly Italian, born in Italy, and the Italian language was his native tongue, though he also spoke fluently Latin, German, French, Greek, and Arabic. He had a taste for philosophy, and was independent in his opinions. He was believed to be the author of an infidel book, but although this was never proved against him, he was known to be opposed to much that was held sacred by strict adherents to the Roman Catholic form of Christianity. He married Yolande, daughter of Guy de Lusignan, titular king of Jerusalem, and went subsequently to the Holy Land, where he recovered Jerusalem by treaty, not by force.

It was at this time that the spirit of reformation that had manifested itself among the Albigenses spread throughout Europe. Those whom we might call Puritans in the church, disgusted with the corruption of the clergy or revolted by the violence and disorder that raged around them, renounced all ambition and the pleasures of the world and devoted themselves to a life of contemplation and holiness. They called themselves *cathari*, or the purified; *paterini*, or the resigned, though possibly the name implied that they put their trust in the fatherhood of God. The free cities endeavored for a time to protect them from the Dominicans armed with the powers of the Inquisition, but Gregory IX. threatened to cast them off as allies

of the church if they continued to show indulgence to those whom the head of the church had denounced as its enemies. Many of the *patrini* were therefore burned in Milan, and numbers also suffered in other cities of Lombardy.

The most powerful ally of Frederick II. in Italy was Eccelino, a chief who was the same age as himself. He was popular in the north of Lombardy, where he had strong castles and commanded many soldiers. The inhabitants of Verona were induced by Frederick to name him captain of the people in their city, but his cruelty and rapacity soon made his name odious in every part of Italy.

Frederick had a number of Saracen troops in his pay, drawn from colonies of Saracens who had settled in his kingdom of Naples. A body of these men he left in Verona under the command of Eccelino, together with a body of German soldiers to overrun the other cities of Lombardy. Eccelino used his authority with the utmost ferocity, and at length being joined by Frederick, who brought a reinforcement of ten thousand Saracens, a great battle was fought with the people of Milan. The citizen soldiers fought bravely, but their valor was no match for the experience and discipline of Frederick's trained forces. In the battle, which is known as that of Cortenuova, the Guelphs were defeated and the remnant of their army was only saved from utter rout by Pagano della Torre, a mountain chief who, as they fled through his defiles, protected them by his castles.

It is of little use to enter minutely into military movements at this period in Northern Italy. It seems

better to say merely that the pope became greatly alarmed when he found the States of the Church hemmed in between Lombardy and Tuscany, under Frederick in the north, and in the south, Naples, his hereditary possession. He endeavored to obtain support from the two maritime republics, Genoa and Venice, which had hitherto kept aloof from Italian politics. But the enthusiasm and vehemence of Pope Gregory roused them. He promised his supporters that the emperor should be excommunicated and deposed by an ecumenical council, which he convoked not in Italy but at Lyons, placing himself under the protection of St. Louis of France. The council declared that for Frederick's iniquities God had rejected him, and all his subjects, under threat of excommunication, were forbidden to obey him; and after this, now old and broken in health, he was in constant fear of assassination. His lieutenant, Eccelino, daily committed new crimes, and the obloquy of his atrocities fell upon the emperor.

Frederick's attempt to subdue Florence, still distracted by the feud between the families of Guelph nobles and the Ghibellines, resulted disastrously for that city. The republic was supposed to lean toward the Guelph party. Frederick wrote to the Uberti, chiefs of the Ghibelline faction, orders to assemble secretly in their palace on the night of Candlemas, 1248, all the Ghibelline leaders; while his son, the king of Antioch, should present himself at the gates and assist in expelling the Guelphs from the city. This was done, thirty-six palaces belonging to illustrious Guelph families were demolished, and then the fierce

soldiers of Frederick, over-running Tuscany, compelled the Guelphs in other cities to follow the example of those in Florence. Frederick's relation to the church and to the Crusades added to the elements of friction in his distracted life, and the later months of his career were devoted to restoring order in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In December, 1250, he died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, forty of which he had spent in almost uninterrupted strife.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

Frederick Barbarossa and the crusade; his tragic death, 1190. St. Francis of Assisi. His home surroundings. Demoralization of the church. His conversion. The mendicant friars, Order of Santa Clara, order of laymen. Influence on Europe. His death, 1226. His influence upon Italian literature and science. St. Dominic (1226) and the Dominicans; Innocent III.; heresy and the Inquisition; struggles between nobles and citizens; the *podestas*. Spirit of the Reformation; "cathari" and "paterini" burned in Milan and other cities by order of the Inquisition. Frederick II. crowned Emperor of Rome and King of the Two Sicilies, 1220. Wars with the cities; his lieutenant Eccelino. Gregory IX. convokes an ecumenical council at Lyons and excommunicates Frederick. Gregory dies, and Frederick, with the Ghibelline faction in Florence, drives the Guelph families from the city; other Tuscan cities also suffer. Proposed crusade with St. Louis of France, but dies 1250.

1. How did the emperor ally himself with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies?
2. Describe his crusading expedition.
3. What tragic fate awaited him?
4. Of what myth is he now the central figure?
5. Describe the home surroundings of Francis of Assisi.
6. In what stirring events was he concerned as a young man?
7. What was the nature of his conversion?
8. How had the church fallen into disrepute among the people?

9. What protests had been made against these conditions? 10. How had the barbarism of the times been felt by the church? 11. What was the result? 12. How did St. Francis begin his work of reform? 13. Describe the growth of the order. 14. What adverse influences did it meet? 15. Describe the close of the life of St. Francis. 16. How did his work influence Italian literature? 17. How did the nobles fare as the free cities grew in importance? 18. What was a *podesta*? 19. How did the nobles become objects of distrust to the citizens of a city? 20. What two orders of friars did Pope Innocent III. encourage? How did their work differ? 21. How did Rome compare with other Italian cities at this time? 22. How did Frederick II. increase his power in Lombardy? 23. How did he incur the enmity of the pope? 24. How did he succeed in humbling Florence? 25. What help at different times did he try to secure from St. Louis of France?

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CHAPTER IV

MANFRED — CONRADIN — ECCELINO

Frederick's son, Conrad IV., who succeeded him as king of Germany, felt himself too weak to continue the conflict between emperor and pope in Italy.

It was now the middle of the thirteenth century. The three hundred years had done little to civilize central Europe, and we know very little about the social conditions that prevailed there; something we know of victories and defeats, of quarrels with the church, and of changes of dynasty, but what concerned the plebeians of Europe in those days was not considered worthy of history. During these three centuries, however, from the invasion of Otho the Great in 951 to the death of Frederick II., 1250, the towns of Italy had prodigiously advanced in wealth, intelligence, energy, and independence. From 1150 to 1183 they fought to obtain the Peace of Constance; from 1183 to 1250 they preserved the privileges they had so gloriously acquired; now we are to see how they lost their liberty. The Ghibellines, thinking only of attachment to a family that had given them so many great sovereigns, and wishing to own a more central authority ruling a united Italy, were ready to venture their all in the cause of the emperor; the Guelphs, alarmed for the independence of the church and for the liberty of their towns, placed

themselves on all points in opposition to the imperial power.

By 1310 the cities of the League of Lombardy had reached the summit of their power when Henry VII., of Germany, invaded Italy after an interregnum of sixty years. The republican cities, each one of them a prey to the spirit of faction, had submitted themselves to the military power of nobles, to whom they entrusted the command of their militia, and thus one after another they lost their liberty.

Conrad died three years after his accession, leaving a young son, known in history as Conradin, whose story is a tragedy. Manfred, a natural son of Frederick II., was a young man of great promise, who set his heart on recovering the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which Innocent IV. had invaded, and in his own person preserving it for descendants of the Norman race. The Saracens settled in the country, staunchly stood by Manfred in opposition to the pope, and for some time it appeared as if under so energetic and popular a leader, the Ghibelline party was likely to prevail. The suffrages of the electors in Germany were divided after Conrad's death between two princes. The claims of the infant Conradin were set aside, half the electors voted for Richard, duke of Cornwall, an English prince, son of Henry III., the other half voted for a Spaniard, Alphonso of Castile. Neither of these candidates had ever been in Germany.

Pope Innocent IV. was in France when he heard of the death of his enemy, Frederick II. He gave boundless expression to his joy, and hastened back to Italy,

where he entered Milan with great pomp, as if he had returned in triumph. That city had just confided to its *podesta* the power to levy new taxes; for long wars had exhausted its treasury, and when the citizens found themselves treated by the pope with great arrogance, threatened with excommunication for some supposed infringement of papal power, and were called on to spend money in his behalf, they became indignant. The Guelph spirit in their city was weakened from that hour.

We of the twentieth century have to lament the struggles that took place in Rome during the thirteenth, which was a period of faction and fighting in the history of the Eternal City, for its classical monuments, arches, gates, and tombs suffered greatly in these disorders. They were turned into fortresses, where fighting men, belonging to the great houses, entrenched themselves. The streets seethed with perpetual tumult; the people were terribly oppressed by the nobles; these issuing from their strongholds, pillaged shops and houses, seized upon any persons whom they might meet, exacting large ransoms from them, braving the authority of the senate, and laughing at the ineffectual rage of the people.

In 1253 the Romans, wearied with these disorders, called upon Brancalone d'Andolo, of Bologna, himself a noble, to become senator to take command of their militia, to put an end to these outrages, and, as justice in those days meant violence and summary punishment, Brancalone proved worthy of the trust imposed in him. He stormed the strongholds of the nobles, massacred their bravos, hung many men of

high birth from the windows of their palaces, and razed to the ground the towers they had built as superstructures on the tombs and arches they had converted into fortresses. The pope, to be out of the way while this reign of terror was doing its work, retired to Assisi, but Brancaleone sent him word that he must come back, for it was not decent for the head of the church to be wandering like a vagabond. He added that if he did not obey this message, he would send his soldiers to Assisi and burn him out of the town. Saint Francis happily was dead, or what might have been his feelings!

One by one the cities learned that when order could only be maintained by the iron hand, the iron hand would soon crush liberty. The only city in Italy in those days that seemed to value justice more than peace, and the security of the citizen more than the punishment of the guilty, was Florence. When, however, the Ghibelline nobles expelled the Guelphs in the last year of the reign of Frederick II., these men began to imitate the example set them by nobles in other cities, but their power soon became insupportable to the proud, intelligent, and wealthy citizens of Florence, amongst whom were such men as Brunetto Latini and Guido Cavalcanti, whom Dante celebrates for the simplicity of their manners, the sobriety of their habits, and their bodily strength.

The citizens of Florence, under the leadership of such men, made an almost bloodless insurrection, established a tribunal in which twelve magistrates, under the *podesta*, sat as judges, attacked and demolished the towers which served as the refuge for the

nobles, and thenceforward made all men equally amenable to the common laws.

Shortly after this, when news was received of Frederick's death, the Guelphs who had been expelled from Florence by his order, were recalled. But Florence, though at peace within her walls, soon engaged in other warfare. The year 1254 is called in her history, "the year of victories," but it better deserves remembrance as being the year in which Florentine citizens refused to profit by an act of treachery, and restored to their enemies the citadel of Arezzo. Florence alone coined honest money. All other sovereigns, cities, and republics tampered with the currency.

A conspiracy of Ghibellines in 1258 endangered the liberties of Florence, and they were expelled from the city. They took refuge at Sienna. Their most esteemed leader was Farinata degli Uberti, whom Dante says he met afterward in the circle of the inferno reserved for heretics. Farinata had been an epicurean, who having no belief in another world, was determined to enjoy himself in this. But the Dominicans and the Inquisition took no notice of his opinions.

After his expulsion from Florence, he joined Manfred, who had established himself on the throne of the Two Sicilies, and persuaded him that it was necessary for the security of his kingdom to secure Tuscany, and to assume the leadership of the Ghibeline party.

By intrigue Farinata contrived that the *signoria* of Florence should send their soldiers to surprise Sienna, but he took care that Sienna should be fully prepared to receive them. The battle of Monte Aperto took

place September 4, 1260. It was the Guelphs who were surprised by an attack from Farinata. They were in much stronger force than the Ghibellines, but the latter had reason to expect that a large band of German troops who served in the Florentine army would desert when the battle began. Then Bocca degli Abbati, placing himself at the head of the traitors, suddenly seized from the *carroccio* the great standard of the republic and threw it to the ground. The Guelphs were panic-stricken and fled. It is said that they left ten thousand men dead upon the field. Dante met Bocca degli Abbati afterward in the lowest hell, where traitors met their punishment. But he deals far more gently with Farinata, who when the Siennese, after the battle, wanted to demolish Florence, opposed them with all his eloquence. He protested that he loved his country far better than his party; and that he would with those same companions in arms, whose bravery they had witnessed in the battle of Monte Aperto, join the Guelphs and fight for them sooner than consent to the ruin of what was in the world most dear to him.

Eccelino was now the leading man of the Ghibelline party, and as such the leading man in Lombardy. The republics of Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Feltre, and Belluno made him their captain, but his authority soon became a frightful tyranny; any one whom he suspected was thrown into prison, and there, by the most excruciating tortures, made to make confessions of crimes, real or imaginary, that might justify the tyrant for his treatment.

We need not recount all the horrors history records

of the administration of Eccelino. He died at last, when at a critical moment, his ancient associates deserted him, being disgusted with his crimes.

The defeat of this man was the last great effort made by the Lombards against the establishment of tyrannies in these cities. It became the custom to confide absolute power to a single person. The nobles had acquired new power by learning to fight on horseback, and in armor. This obliged the citizens to enlist roving adventurers, called bands of free companions to be a match for the satellites of the nobles, who were bravos to whom they gave shelter in their palaces, and who took advantage of any tumult to plunder the shops and houses of the citizens.

As the *podesta* was general-in-chief of all the forces in a city, as well as chief judge, his power was absolute and became dangerous to liberty. In Milan, Pagano della Torre was made captain of the people, and four of his family succeeded him; among them was one called Napoleone. But the pope, growing jealous of the family of Della Torre, appointed a Visconti to be archbishop of Milan, who, after some years, procured the appointment of one of his own family as head of the state. Mantua chose the Count de Bonifazio as its general and judge. Verona chose Mastino della Scala, Ferrara the Marquis d'Este, and so on in other cities. These nobles so firmly established their power that it at length came to be considered hereditary in their families.

The Guelph party, since the offense given by Innocent IV. to his adherents in Milan, had become weaker. The party of the Ghibellines was all-powerful in North-

ern Italy, and Manfred, who called himself king of Apulia, seemed on the point of making the whole peninsula a united monarchy.

In 1261 a Frenchman was elected pope and took the name of Urban IV. He proposed to offer the crown of Sicily to a prince capable of defending the patrimony of the church and Southern Italy from the encroachments of Manfred. That prince was Charles of Anjou, the brother of Saint Louis of France. Charles had already signalized himself in war. He was, like his brother, a faithful believer, fanatical in his opposition to the enemies of the church. He accepted the offer of the pope, and his wife, Beatrice of Provence, was so eager to be queen of the Two Sicilies, (for that kingdom was the prize for which Manfred, the leader of the Ghibellines, and Charles, leader of the Guelphs, were to contend), that she pawned her jewels to assist in levying an army of thirty thousand men, whom she led herself through Lombardy.

Charles is described by Villani, a contemporary historian, as "wise and prudent, valiant in arms, but rough, and much feared and redoubted by all kings in the world; magnanimous, and of a high spirit; steadfast in carrying on every great enterprise; firm in every adversity and true in every promise, speaking little and doing much. He laughed but seldom, was chaste as a monk, Catholic, harsh in judgment, and of a fierce countenance; large and muscular in person, with an olive complexion, and a large nose. He sat up late at night, and was in the habit of saying that much time was lost in sleeping. He was generous to his knights, but eager to acquire land, lordship, and

money wherever he could, to furnish means for his wars and enterprises."

Having gone to Rome with one thousand knights by sea, he made his entry into it in May, 1265; the year and the month of Dante's birth.

Charles was at once invested with the kingdom of Sicily, and made senator of Rome. It was stipulated, however, that the crown of Sicily should never be united to that of the empire, or to the sovereignty of Lombardy and Tuscany. In 1266 Charles, having entered the kingdom of Naples, fought a battle near Benevento. The cause of Manfred was bravely supported by his German and Saracen troops, but the Neapolitans fled at once from the field, and the gallant Manfred perished.

Malespina, in his history, tells thus of his death and burial:

"Being left with but few followers he behaved like a valiant gentleman who preferred to die in battle rather than escape with shame. And putting on his helmet, which had on it a silver eagle for a crest, the eagle fell on the saddle-bow before him. Seeing this he was greatly disturbed, and said in Latin, to the barons who were near him: 'This is a sign from God, for this crest I fastened on with my own hands in such a way that it could not fall.' Yet he was not discouraged, but took heart and went into the battle like any other baron without the royal insignia. It lasted a short time, for his forces were already in flight; they were routed, and Manfred was slain in the middle of the enemy."

Search was made for his body. For three days it

was not found. Then one of his own camp-followers discovered it, flung it across an ass, and entered Benevento, crying: "Who will buy Manfred!" For this a French noble beat him with a cane. Deep was the grief of the barons who had been taken prisoners when they were called on to identify the body, and the French and Bretons in King Charles's army besought him that the corpse might have honorable burial. "I would do it willingly," said Charles, "were he not excommunicated." So his grave was made close to the bridge of Benevento, and every soldier in the French army threw a stone on it.

So long as he lived, his kingdom, notwithstanding the wars he waged with the church, rose greatly in wealth and prosperity, and in power, both by sea and land.

The French proceeded to restore order in the kingdom of Naples, which meant, in their hands, extermination and pillage.

The victory at Benevento restored the Guelph party in Italy. The nobles who were captains of the people in the great cities, went openly over to the pope's party. But while the burghers of Florence changed their party, they safeguarded their civic liberties, they increased the power of their various councils, from which they excluded the nobles and Ghibellines, and they gave the corporations of trade, into which all the industrial population of the city was divided, a direct share in the government.

It was about the end of the year 1267, ten months after the defeat of Manfred, that Conradin (son of Conrad and grandson of Frederick II.) arrived at Ver-

ona, with ten thousand cavalry. The Ghibelline aristocracy, which had fought for his grandfather and uncle, hastened to join his standard; so did the republics of Pisa and Sienna, always in opposition to the Florentines. The Romans who were dissatisfied with Pope Martin for having changed his residence to Viterbo, opened their gates to Conradin, but gave him little aid in withstanding the French.

The young prince (only sixteen) met Charles of Anjou, the usurper of his hereditary kingdom, in August, 1268; a desperate battle was fought in which Charles of Anjou came off victorious. Conradin, who had been confident of victory, escaped, and was about to embark for Sicily when he was taken prisoner. He was brought to Charles, who, without pity for his youth, esteem for his courage, or respect for his hereditary rights, exacted from the iniquitous judges before whom he subjected him to the mockery of a trial, a sentence of death. Conradin was beheaded in the market-place of Naples on the 26th of October, 1268, and an uninterrupted series of executions long continued to fill the Two Sicilies with dismay and horror.

Pope Clement IV. died one month after the execution of Conradin. Germany had been many years without an emperor, and after the death of Clement, the papal chair remained unoccupied for thirty-three months, during which time Charles of Anjou remained head of the Guelph party, ruling over the whole of Italy, which had neither pope nor emperor. At length Pope Gregory X., a Visconti, induced the electors of Germany to choose another emperor. Their choice

fell on Rudolph of Hapsburg, ancestor of the present ruler of Austria-Hungary.

In 1277 a new pope, Nicholas III., forced Charles of Anjou to renounce his title of imperial vicar as well as those of other offices and obliged the new Emperor Rudolph to give up all pretensions to suzerainty in the States of the Church, since which time until the Italian revolution in 1859, those states have been under the pope as their temporal ruler.

At this time Otho Visconti, the archbishop of Milan, who had been driven from that city by Napoleone della Torre, came back with many nobles and Ghibellines. Napoleone was surprised and taken prisoner by the archbishop, who was received back by Milan with enthusiasm, and thenceforward the city and its surrounding territory became no more than a principality governed always by a Visconti and recognized in Europe as a sovereign state.

Nicholas III. was actively engaged in reconciling Guelphs to Ghibellines, and Ghibellines to Guelphs, when he died suddenly after having been pope only three years.

Charles, now king of the Two Sicilies, not only exerted influence but force to procure the election of a pontiff favorable to himself. He succeeded in that by carrying off three cardinals from the conclave and striking terror into the rest, who elected a Frenchman, a native of Tours. He took the name of Martin, in compliment to the patron saint of that city.

Martin IV. labored to give the prince who patronized him the sovereignty of Italy. He reinstated him in all the posts of dignity and honor from which Greg-

ory X. had deposed him, and he encouraged him to make war on the Greek emperor, and take possession of towns in Italy. The son of the last Latin emperor of Constantinople, whose dominions had been wrested from him in 1261, had married a daughter of Charles of Anjou.

Great preparations were being made for this expedition when an outbreak took place in Sicily, which upset all the plans of Charles, and threw him into such a rage that he swore that if he could live a thousand years he would never cease razing the cities of Sicily, burning its lands, and torturing his rebellious subjects. He would leave Sicily, he said, "a blasted, barren, uninhabited rock, as a warning to the present age, an example to the future."

John of Procida the friend, confidant and physician of Frederick II. and of Manfred, heartsick at the cruelties of the French, had made his way to Sicily in disguise, and did his best to stir up a rebellion among the inhabitants. It probably did not take the form he would have wished, but he prepared men's minds for what was coming.

On March 30, 1282, a bride was on her way to the church of Montreal in Palermo to be married. She was leaning on the arm of her bridegroom when one of the French garrison came up and insisted on searching her person, claiming that she might have concealed weapons. This outrage roused not only her relatives but the whole population of Palermo. The bells were ringing for vespers, when a shout arose: "To arms! death to the French." The French soldiers, taken by surprise, were at once overmastered by the exas-

perated Sicilians. Some tried to escape by passing themselves off as Italians, when at once they were ordered to pronounce two words: *ceci* and *ciceri*. In all cases their mispronunciation betrayed them, and they were instantly massacred. In a few hours more than four thousand French were slain. Every town in Sicily followed the example of Palermo, and thus the Sicilian Vespers overthrew the tyranny of Charles of Anjou, and of the Guelph party, separated the kingdom of Sicily from that of Naples, and transferred the crown of the former to Don Pedro of Aragon, the son-in-law of Manfred, whose wife was considered the heiress to the house of Hohenstaufen, whose claims to these kingdoms came through the Normans.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

The cities of Italy increased in wealth and power from 951; fought to secure Peace of Constance, 1150-1183; preserved their privileges until 1250, then fell under the power of the nobles. Reign of terror at Rome in 1253. Florence secures justice to her citizens. The treason of Farinata degli Uberti. Fall of Eccelino; the nobles increase in power. Charles of Anjou becomes king of the Two Sicilies. Death of Manfred at Benvenuto. Death of Conradin. No pope, no emperor. Popes Gregory X. and Nicholas III. humble Charles. The States of the Church separated from the Empire. The French Pope Martin IV., a tool of Charles. The Sicilian Vespers, 1282. Don Pedro of Aragon, King of Sicily.

1. How were the efforts of Pope Innocent IV. to secure the Two Sicilies frustrated? 2. How did he weaken his cause with Milan? 3. What reign of terror took place in Rome in 1253? 4. How did the affairs of Florence contrast with those of other cities at this time? 5. In what Ghibelline conspiracy was Farinata degli Uberti concerned? 6. Describe the battle

of Monte Aperto. 7. How was Florence saved from destruction? 8. Give an account of the decline and fall of Eccelino's power. 9. Show how the nobles gradually strengthened their hold on the cities. 10. How did French influence come into Italy with Pope Urban IV. in 1261? 11. Describe the overthrow of Manfred at Benvenuto. 12. How did this affect the Guelph party in Italy? 13. What did the Florentines do to safeguard their liberties? 14. What was the fate of young Conradin? 15. How was Italy ruled during her thirty-three months without pope or emperor? 16. How did Pope Nicholas III. hold in check both Charles of Naples and Rudolph of Hapsburg? 17. In what way was Pope Martin IV. the tool of Charles of Anjou? 18. What were the "Sicilian Vespers?"

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CHAPTER V

ROME AND RIENZI — FLORENCE AND DANTE

That from this time the history of Italy becomes still more incohesive and difficult to relate is the complaint of all historians.

Charles of Anjou lived only two years after the Sicilian Vespers. He died in the winter of 1285 not seventy years old. Besides his fury against the Sicilians for the massacre of all the French in that island, soldiers, priests, laymen, women, and children, his last years were embittered by the captivity of his son and heir, who was held prisoner by the Sicilians. In 1288 an accommodation was brought about by the good offices of Pope Nicholas IV., who drew up a treaty in which Charles II., in consideration of being set at liberty, agreed that the Guelph kingdom of Naples should be given to the house of Anjou, while Sicily, which was Ghibelline, should receive as its sovereign Pedro of Aragon. The two kings swore not to make war upon each other, but Pope Nicholas released Charles from this oath, and authorized him to begin the war anew. It lasted twenty-four years, and occupied the whole reign of Charles II.

The German emperors during this period ceased apparently to take any interest in Italy. Rodolph of Hapsburg and his three successors, never visited it.

The Ghibelline party was transformed from an im-

perialist party into a faction of the aristocracy; and relied on the nobles who were acknowledged rulers in the cities, for support, and not upon the emperor. The popes, too, seemed weary of Italian quarrels. Martin IV. died two months after Charles of Anjou, and the popes who succeeded him were chiefly occupied by endeavoring to aggrandize the noble families to which they belonged.

One pope, however, Celestine V., was elected for his piety and his Christian virtues, but these proved unequal to sustain him in the struggles which at that time awaited every man promoted to the papal chair. His chancellor, Cardinal Benedict Caïetan, soon convinced him of his incapacity, and induced him to resign; after having intrigued to succeed him. He was Boniface VIII. Dante assigned him his place in hell while he was still living, and is more bitter against him than against any other sinner mentioned in his poem. Saint Peter, in the *Paradiso*, utters a terrible invective against him, "which," says the poet, "caused heaven and earth to redden with sympathetic anger." The early English poet, Gower, also calls him "That proud clerk, misleader of the papacy."

Before he had quite succeeded in frightening Pope Celestine into resignation, he went secretly by night to Charles of Naples, and said to him, "King, thy Pope Celestine had the will and the power to serve thee in thy Sicilian wars, but did not know how, but if thou wilt contrive with thy friends the cardinals, to have me elected pope, I shall know how, and shall have the will and the power."

This quotation is from Villani, who says afterward,

“He was very lordly and demanded great honor, and knew well how to maintain and advance the cause of the church, and on account of his knowledge and power was much dreaded and feared.”

His inauguration is said to have been the most magnificent show that Rome had seen since the days of the emperors. In his procession from St. Peter's to the Lateran, he rode a splendid white horse nobly caparisoned, and not a humble ass, as was the usual custom. King Charles of Naples held his bridle on one side, the king of Hungary on the other. The great Roman nobles followed in a body. The procession could hardly force its way through the masses of kneeling people. But suddenly a furious storm broke over the city, and extinguished every lamp and torch, leaving all in darkness.

Boniface began by endeavoring to augment the power of the Guelphs through the aid of France, but he ended by quarrelling bitterly with Philip le Bel. “He was,” says Mr. Story, author of *Roba di Roma*, “cruel, avaricious, and tyrannical, and, by means of his lavish indulgences, provoked the reaction which finally led to the Reformation.” In his quarrel with Philip le Bel he found himself no match for the French king, who drove him back to Rome a prisoner. Too proud to yield he stood at bay, and menaced his enemies. Contemporary historians draw a piteous picture of him in his extremity, gnawing the top of his staff in his despair. At last unable to endure misfortune, in a fit of fury he dashed out his brains against a wall, in 1303.

His successor, Benedict IX., reigned only eight

months, and after him Clement V., the servile dependent of the French king, removed the papal court to Avignon, where it remained from 1309 to 1377, stagnating in luxury and debauchery. This period was known as the Babylonian exile of the papacy.

During this time Henry VII., of Germany, received the iron crown at Milan, but a general revolt in Lombardy took place. King Robert, of Naples, and his brother John, marched an army to Rome, took possession of the capital, and of the castle of St. Angelo, which was originally built by the Roman emperor Hadrian, to be his tomb. In vain Henry VII. endeavored to storm this castle, which commanded the Church of St. Peter, and he was obliged at last to be crowned not in that cathedral, but in the Church of St. John Lateran, which was in his possession. After this he retired to Tivoli, and gave up trying to make himself master of Rome, where, during the absence of the papal court, the Colonna and the Ossini were engaged in bitter quarrels, while the dissensions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines created chaos throughout Italy. Anarchy reigned over Rome and the surrounding country. The Campagna and the Roman provinces were ravaged by robbers, free-booters, and scattered bands of soldiers, whose will was law, and industry and commerce almost ceased to exist.

Yet some vestiges of popular government still remained in Rome, which had an assembly of thirteen magistrates, heads of their respective wards, who were called *caporioni*. But, after the pope went to Avignon, there was nothing in Rome that could justly be called a government.

It was in those days of outbreaks, terror, and confusion that Cola di Rienzi, son of an inn-keeper, began to address the populace. He attacked the nobles who were devastating Rome by their quarrels, and roused enthusiasm among the people. His story is a romance, ending in tragedy. When yet a young man he was sent as a deputy to Avignon to beg the pope to return to Rome. His associate in this embassy was the poet Petrarch, but Rienzi seems to have been the spokesman. Next we find him in the Forum standing on some ancient fragment, and by his eloquence rousing his countrymen to shake off their apathy, cast off the tyrannous rule of the nobles, and restore their country to its ancient glory. The people listened, and the nobles smiled. But Rienzi was eloquent and in earnest, and carried his hearers with him.

On May 20, 1347, when the popes had been forty years in Avignon, he summoned the people of Rome by sound of trumpet to the Church of San Giovanni to pray for the triumph of what he called "the good estate."

With shouting, and with banners waving, he was escorted by an enthusiastic crowd, which, however, formed into an orderly procession, to the foot of the capitol, where pausing before two ancient basalt lions, he read aloud the constitution he proposed for "the good estate." The people accepted it with acclamation, and named him their tribune.

His first triumph as tribune was over the great Colonna family, to whose chief, Stefano Colonna, he sent an order to leave the city. The prince, furious at his presumption, tore the order to pieces, and

vowed he would throw Rienzi from the windows of the capitol. Then the great bell of the capitol rang out, summoning the people to arms. They answered the appeal, and Colonna and other most powerful nobles in Rome were forced to seek safety in flight.

From the first the rule of Rienzi was distinguished by justice, energy, and decision of purpose. Peace was again secured, authority established, law resumed, and liberty seemed about to be restored. But few men can bear the sudden acquisition of supreme power. Rienzi's head was turned by it. He assumed the pomp and state of a long-descended sovereign. The follies he committed through his love of show, and his desire for distinction, were worthy of some semi-insane emperor of Rome or Russia.

He was made a knight with great pomp and ceremonial, and after hearing mass was endowed by the syndic of the city with a sword, girdle, and golden spurs, after which he addressed the people, citing the pope, the emperor, and Charles, king of Sicily, to give reason for any claims they had in Rome. Then, pointing his sword north, south, and east, he cried: "This is mine! this is mine! this is mine!"

Irritated by a remark made to him by Stefano Colonna, who had returned to Rome, to the effect that more humble garments were befitting a tribune of the people than a regal cloak covered with embroidery and fringed with gold, he conceived the notion that the nobles were about to play him false. He seized the chief men of all the princely families of Rome, and made preparations for their execution, vowing that nothing should induce him to spare their lives; when

suddenly, without reason, he not only released all of them, but promoted some to important charges and offices in the state.

The nobles after this left Rome, and began in truth to form a conspiracy to overthrow the tribune. They assembled their soldiers, devastated the country around the city, and threatened to march on Rome. Rienzi was no soldier. When Colonna advanced to the city gates he only rang the bells of the capitol, and recounted to the people his dreams, which had been full of good augury. The soldiers without the city hearing the bells ring, and supposing the Romans were preparing to attack them in the streets, were on the point of drawing back, when a young son of Stefano Colonna rode, unopposed, into the city. Finding himself alone and unsupported, he was turning his horse to rejoin his soldiers, when he was thrown to the ground, and the people, rushing upon him, killed him on the spot. His father and his relatives with the troops that they commanded, rushed in to save or to avenge him. They were repulsed, and the tribune celebrated his triumph so vaingloriously, and with so little decency that he lost the esteem of the people who had hitherto supported him.

At last when exhorting the populace to rise and expel a certain count, who had set his authority at defiance, he found no response to his eloquent words. Then he cried, passionately: "After having governed you for seven months, I now renounce my authority!" But not a voice protested. He then retired to the castle of St. Angelo. The nobles returned to Rome. His power had vanished.

Rome next fell into a state of anarchy and confusion even worse than it had been before Rienzi became head of the government. The people stoned, assaulted, and expelled every noble who attempted to assume the reins of power.

In 1353 Rienzi, who had been in hiding, protected by the pope's delegate and by some of the Orsini family, returned to Rome and was received with enthusiasm by the repentant people. But he was no longer a free agent, the legate sought only to make use of him. All things that he attempted went badly, and ill-success is not forgiven by a Latin mob. A sedition broke out in Rome. The people rushed to the capitol with cries of "Death to the traitor Rienzi!" Abandoned by his guards and by nearly all his friends, his courage rose, and he showed his better self again.

He put on his armor as a knight and stood on a balcony praying to be heard, while the populace below howled at him and pelted him. At last they set fire to the woodwork of the capitol, and Rienzi, putting the cloak of a porter over his armor, rushed down the flaming stairs and through the blazing chambers. Just as he reached the open air he was stopped. Then, seeing all was lost, with a flash of his former courage he flung off his disguise and said: "I am the tribune!" He was led by his captor into the crowd. At sight of him the mob drew back and became silent. Firmly he walked to the base of the basalt lions, where he had made his first appeal to the people, folded his arms, and looked down on the raging crowd. He was beginning to address the people, when an artisan near him plunged a pike into his heart. Then the cruel

populace fell upon his corpse and in every way maltreated it. Finally in the Mausoleum of Augustus, the stronghold of the Colonna family, they burned it to ashes.

We will now turn from Rome to the history of another great city during the same period, premising that the story of the lesser towns, if there were space to tell it here, was invariably of the same pattern: Nobles raised to power, and kept in it by bands of foreign mercenaries taken into their pay; people exasperated and turbulent, quarrels between Guelphs and Ghibellines, and between cities who called themselves Ghibelline or Guelph. Florence, though she went through many of these experiences, preserved her liberty during the fourteenth century, and all the glory of Italy must be looked for in those days within her walls.

Among all the terrors, tumults, and distractions of those times, everyday life went on with its human feelings, human interests, amusements, and anxieties. We have seen something of this in the household of the burgher Pietro Bernadone; we may now catch a glimpse of social life among the nobles of Florence at the same period, through the medium of the loveliest love story that has yet been unfolded to the world. Dante or Durante Alighieri was born in Florence in the month of May, 1265, the year and month in which Charles of Anjou was entering Rome. He came into the world when civic strife was raging in Florence, and it is generally thought that his father, a Guelph nobleman, was at the time of his birth one of the *fuorisciti* or *turned out ones*, expelled from his city in one

of the political changes of that time. Nothing more is heard of him, however, in connection with his son's history, and the only thing we know about his mother is that "she was a woman of a disdainful soul." Dante seems, therefore, to have had no tender influences around him in his early boyhood. He was carefully educated, however, under the care of Brunetto Latini, an excellent man and learned scholar, who wrote a species of encyclopedia in French about this time.

On May-day, 1274, when Dante was but nine years old, an entertainment was given in one of the palaces of Florence, to which all the great houses in the city sent their representatives, including their children. We might well desire a glance into those lofty halls and chambers, a glimpse, however brief, into medieval sociability. In the Italian free cities, it is evident, from contemporary memoirs, that young people enjoyed a liberty of social intercourse, not accorded to them elsewhere. In a corner of one room stood the future poet, a boy of dark complexion and very prominent features. He was gazing at the groups of Florentine maidens, among them, possibly Gemma Donati, his future wife, when his eyes lighted on one peerless girl whom he had never seen before. She was eight years and four months old—we know her age exactly—and she was nine months younger than the boy who had quite recently completed his ninth year. From that moment the number nine had for him a peculiar significance. He worked it mysteriously into all his writings; to this day scholars are still discovering the mystic number in all his verses. As he gazed at her

he felt himself in the presence of a revelation. "The glorious mistress of my soul appeared to me," he tells us, "called Beatrice, even by those who could not know her blessedness, but who felt instinctively that she was blessed. She was dressed in rich colors, crimson predominating, her garments were modestly made and her ornaments were such as became her tender years and station." We learn elsewhere that her hair was like soft threads of woven sunlight, and her eyes of that hazel which has a tinge of green. She was the daughter of Folco Portinari, and even then it is believed was promised in marriage to Messer Simone dei Bardi. From that moment, child though he was, love took possession of Dante. It flourished in a soil prepared for its reception, for Brunetto Latini had cultivated his imagination and impregnated him with poetry. His boyish admiration was treated with indulgence by the young girl's elders. He saw her often, and as he beheld her growing into womanhood with so noble a bearing, so spiritual a beauty, he used to repeat to himself a line from Homer:

"She seems no daughter of our mortal race, but daughter of the gods."

He tells us, as Victor Hugo told his fiancée, how thoughts of her kept his heart pure, and he began to write of her in sonnets, beautiful sonnets, which according to a custom of the times, he published, as it were, by hanging them on the walls of one of the churches. By the time he was a young man he had acquired all the learning Florence could give him, together with the accomplishments of music and painting.

He was young when he joined the Florentine army, fought at the battle of Compaldino, and was present at the siege of Caprona, the only warlike events that concerned Florence at that period, for the city was exceptionally peaceable at that time.

Dante was born a member of a Guelph family. The Guelphs and Ghibellines having become somewhat reconciled—since, as already stated, there was no emperor to lead the one party, or pope to excite the other—adopted a quarrel that had broken out in Lucca where the Guelphs were divided into Blacks and Whites—the Neri and the Bianchi. The Whites were liberal Guelphs, the Blacks the old ultra-conservative party. Dante belonged to the Whites, and their quarrel for long years raged as fiercely between the two factions as the old strife between Guelphs and Ghibellines.

The day came when Beatrice Portinari was married to Messer Simone dei Bardi. No word in Dante's writings gives us to understand that she ever accepted or even appreciated his reverential homage.

He appears to have been present, as a spectator not a guest, at her marriage feast when his feelings so overcame him that he nearly swooned. A lady sitting by the bride pointed out to her his pale, sad countenance, and Dante fancied that he saw her smile.

The pang in his heart struck deep. He became ill, and some of the most beautiful poems in his New Life (the *Vita Nuova*), record the visions that came to him upon his sickbed. But Beatrice did not live long. She died a year after her marriage. Exquisitely beautiful are the lines in which Dante records how angels bore her to her place in heaven.

Dante married some years after the death of Beatrice, Gemma, a lady of the proud house of the Donati. She bore him six children, among them a daughter called Beatrice. Some of their descendants are living to this day.

Up to the time of his marriage, Dante had been a Guelph, but he belonged to the moderate portion of the party—the Whites or Bianchi, while the Donati were Neri, intolerant and violent. A terrible dispute broke out in Florence between these factions, when the Blacks proposed to support the pretensions of Charles of Valois (brother of Philip le Bel). The Whites opposed foreign interference with the government of their city. Dante, who had been a prominent man in his party, and had been charged with important offices, was banished with all the other leading Whites by the Blacks, who, assisted by Charles of Valois and his soldiers, pillaged, burned, and massacred in Florence. Both Dante and Petrarch were among the Whites condemned to exile. Dante was at that moment in Rome, 1301 (the year of Jubilee), whither he had been sent on a diplomatic mission, and he never again entered Florence, the city of his love.

After this he openly joined the Ghibellines. His *Divina Commedia* is written from an anti-papal point of view. "He spent many years," says Leigh Hunt, "wandering over Italy, like some lonely lion of a man, grudging in his great disdain."

At one moment he was conspiring and hoping, at another despairing and endeavoring to conciliate his beautiful Florence. He humbled himself to entreat the emperor, nobles in power, and even a pope, to

plead for his return to his own city. But in vain. He had personal enemies there, possibly the family of the Donati.

He studied for two years at the Sorbonne in Paris and there is reason to think he there formed the acquaintance of Friar Bacon. He was recalled to Italy by the election of Henry of Luxemburg as German emperor, and during the brief life of that young man of great promise, his hopes for his country revived. When at length he did receive the long desired permission to return to Florence, coupled with the condition of paying a heavy fine and doing public penance in one of the principal churches, he refused, because the way proposed would "derogate from the fame and honor of Dante." The remainder of his life was spent partly with Can Grande della Scala, at Verona, and partly at Ravenna at the court of the nephew of Francesca di Rimini.

In 1313 he undertook a diplomatic mission to Venice on behalf of his protector, Guido Malaspina of Ravenna. He failed, and returned home overwhelmed with disappointment. He fell ill on reaching Ravenna, and died there after twenty years of exile (1321) at the age of fifty-seven.

Guido gave him a magnificent funeral and designed for him a splendid monument, but time failed him to put his project in execution. He himself died in exile.

In vain the Florentines have endeavored to recover the dust and bones of him they once proposed to burn alive if he ever reëntered their city. The people of Ravenna cherish his tomb.

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Boccaccio has spoken slightly of his wife, Gemma Donati, but there is no evidence of any kind against her. She may have had a high temper and may possibly have been jealous of her husband's early love. She lived on in Florence during his exile, educating her children and protecting the remnants of her husband's property. When she discovered the manuscripts of the first cantos of the *Inferno* which Dante had written in Latin, and left behind him when he went, in 1301, to Rome, she collected the sheets and sent them to him, though from the *Vita Nuova* she must have known that his great poem would be in praise of Beatrice. This does not seem like the act of a jealous woman!

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

The German emperors remain away from Italy. Pope Celestine V. in contrast with Boniface VIII.; the latter intrigues with France and is overborne by Philip le Bel. The Babylonian captivity at Avignon, 1309-77. Henry VII. receives the iron crown at Milan; Lombardy revolts; the Romans oppose his coronation. Anarchy in and about Rome. Rienzi, the tribune; his popularity, his vanity, and his fall. Dante born 1265; Beatrice; his share in the wars; a Guelph, one of the Bianchi; banished in 1301; becomes a Ghibelline; studies at the Sorbonne; lives at Verona and Ravenna; death at Ravenna, 1321.

1. How did the Ghibelline party change in character after the election of the Hapsburg emperors? 2. What distinction had Pope Celestine V.? 3. Describe the career of Boniface VIII. 4. During what period was the papal court in Avignon? 5. How was Henry VII. frustrated in his attempt to be crowned in St. Peter's? 6. What lawless conditions prevailed in and about Rome at this time? 7. How did Rienzi become tribune? 8. What effect did success have upon him? 9. How did he forfeit the esteem of the people? 10. Describe his return to

- Rome and his final overthrow. 11. What is known of the early life of Dante? 12. Describe his first meeting with Beatrice. 13. How did he express his devotion to her? 14. What part did he bear in the wars of his time? 15. With what political party was he associated? 16. Why was he banished? 17. What efforts did he make to return? 18. What became of his family? 19. Where did he spend the later years of his life? 20. Under what conditions was he allowed to return to Florence? 21. What were the circumstances of his death?

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CHAPTER VI

THE MARITIME REPUBLICS — VENICE, GENOA, AND PISA

Venice¹ was founded A. D. 421. It owed its existence to the panic produced by the total destruction of Aquileia by the barbarian hordes of Attila, king of the Huns. The inhabitants of the ruined city sought safety in the seventy-two islands formed in the lagoons at the northern part of the Adriatic, and they were there joined by other fugitives from northern Italian cities, who felt themselves safe from the barbarians only when surrounded by the sea. Forty years afterward the cornerstone of a city was laid, and an assembly was called at Grado, to elect tribunes to govern the affairs of each island. The lagoon population thus formed itself into an independent republic.

The next great step in Venetian history was the election of a duke or doge. The authority of such an officer seemed necessary to keep down rivalry between the inhabitants of many islands now confined side by side in the narrow circumference of the lagoons. For nearly six hundred years, that is, until the beginning of the twelfth century, Venice was governed by her doges, assisted by the tribunes of the islands, and by a privy council of twelve other

¹ For many passages in this chapter the writer is indebted to *An Historical Sketch of Venice*, by Horatio F. Brown.

tribunes, elected by the whole body of dwellers on the islands in the lagoons. "No power of prince or emperor can reach us," said the Venetians, "save by the sea alone, and of them, therefore, we have no fear." Venice obtained recognition from the Imperial Court at Constantinople as an independent state, and kept up friendly relations with the Eastern emperors for many years.

Meantime, the city grew in wealth, importance, and prosperity. The Venetians quarreled occasionally with the Slav population of Dalmatia, and thus became trained in the use of arms.

In 1001 a great expedition was undertaken against Dalmatian pirates, led by the Doge Orseolo in person. It was entirely successful, the doge received the title of Duke of Dalmatia, and from that time to this the Venetians have celebrated the day on which Orseolo's fleet sailed on that glorious expedition. It was at first a ceremony of thanksgiving and prayer, but in later years it developed into the magnificent annual ceremonial of the Espousal of the Sea by the Doge. By it the Venetians wished to emphasize the result of their past experience, viz., that they and the sea on which they lived were inseparably united.

After this victory over the pirates of Narsa, the doge enjoyed great reputation. His alliance was courted by princes, and the Greek emperor entreated his assistance to deliver the governor of Bari, who, with his town, had been captured by the Saracens. The end of Pietro Orseolo was a sad one. The plague swept off his son, his grandson, his trusted friends, and his nearest relatives. He may be said to have

died of a broken heart, at the age of forty-eight, after eighteen and a half years of the most splendid and successful dogeship that Venice had seen up to his time.

Forty years later there was some attempt to establish a dynastic dogeship in Venice. But the Venetians were determined to be free, and when the Caloprini in exile, offered to subdue and hold Venice for the Emperor Otho, the lagoons were found impregnable. "They saved Venice from domination by any foreign master, they also materially assisted to prevent any ambitious Venetian from making himself supreme through foreign aid, while the instinct in Venice precluded him from founding a dynasty in any other way."

At the close of the eleventh century, when Robert Guiscard planned to make himself emperor of the East, and led an expedition to the western coasts of the Adriatic on his way to attack Constantinople, the Greek emperor invoked help from the doge of Venice, whose fleet gained a victory over the Sicilians, but the Greek army coming up on the land side, suffered defeat. The Venetians were indignant at the incapacity of the emperor, and the doge, who had endeavored to assist him, was deposed. The Venetians had another cause of complaint against this unfortunate official. He had married a Greek wife, who made herself odious to the Venetian ladies by her luxurious and effeminate habits; not only did she take baths of dew, and wear perfumed gloves, but she insisted on using a fork at meals, an innovation that Venetian society could not put up with. Her husband indulged another kind of luxury. He caused artists to begin works in mosaic for the church of St. Mark. "He sent to all parts," says a

chronicler, "to seek out marbles and precious stones, and to find master masons to carry out his large and marvelous designs in masonry."

The body of Saint Mark had been removed by the Venetians from his burial place at Alexandria, and he became the patron saint of their city. But no less does he hold the same office in Egypt, to the church of the Coptic Christians. Three brave and cunning men, who were in the port of Alexandria with a Venetian ship, A. D. 823, managed, by fraud and force, to steal Saint Mark's body. They put it in a basket, and that its hiding place might not be suspected, they covered it with pork and cabbages. The stratagem succeeded, the ship that bore the relics of the saint sailed safely into port, and the remains were received at Venice with every honor.

When the crusades began, at the close of the eleventh century, Venice was drawn into the current of European events, and her aid became invaluable to the crusaders. The display of her naval resources which the Norman wars had evoked, drew the attention of the pope, the emperor, and all the crusading princes to the small city on the lagoons which could put large and triumphant fleets upon the ocean.

There were no *fuori-usciti* from among the citizens of Venice; no Venetian turned his hand against the city of his birth. Venice found no obstacles to the steady development of her commercial importance, her naval power, and her domestic institutions.

"She had become a great emporium where the products of many lands were stored, and whence they were distributed to the West. Wine and grain came

from Apulia; wood from Dalmatia; gems and drugs from Asia; metal work, silk, and cloth of gold from Constantinople."

Above all, Venice was a free state, her people could make war upon their own account, they coined their own money, and could legislate as they thought proper. Venice was young and vigorous in the midst of the decrepitude of other cities, free when the states around her were in slavery, and she was ready to take her place among the great forces of Europe when the crusades called them to united action.

When first summoned to take part in the holy wars, the city was filled with enthusiasm. It sent forth a fleet of two hundred ships, which wintered at Rhodes, but no country takes part in the concert of great powers, as we of the nineteenth century know well, without getting itself into trouble. The emperor, in Constantinople at the time of the first crusade, secretly favored the Saracens, and when he found that the Venetians would not break their alliance with the soldiers of the cross, he determined to punish them.

The Pisans saw with great jealousy and annoyance the appearance of the vast fleet of their commercial rival in Eastern waters. They sent down a Pisan fleet to attack that of the Venetians which was lying at Rhodes, and they were defeated in the engagement that followed. The Venetians released all their prisoners, except thirty of the most prominent men among them. But they soon found that they had made two powerful enemies, the Greek emperor and the republic of Pisa.

In nine years, to assist this first crusade, Venice put three hundred ships of war upon the ocean, but this effort had greatly weakened her resources, and when the king of Hungary attacked cities of Dalmatia, which were in alliance with the Venetians, they were unable to defend them. At last, in 1118, when at open war with the king of Hungary, the republicans suffered a total rout. This did not prevent them, however, from fitting out another fleet against the Saracens. In it were beaked vessels, of what was then thought great size, each rowed by one hundred oarsmen. All were painted in brilliant colors, and sailed forth gloriously in the light of the sun.

The crusaders found great help from the Venetians, and rewarded it by giving them especial privileges in all the cities they conquered on the coast of Palestine. This led in the end to Venetian supremacy in the Levant. And while Venice triumphant was filled with a proud sense of her own power and importance, the rest of Italy, as we have already seen, was at the same period torn by dissensions and civil wars. She, however, so far entered into the spirit of the times as to undertake a small war against Padua, her army being in great part composed of mercenary soldiers.

Once more, in 1148, Venice assisted the Greek emperor (Manuel I.) against the Normans of Sicily. The Venetian sailors were victorious in fight, but a foolish jest on their part gave mortal offense to the emperor.

When Frederick Barbarossa found the spirit of municipal independence strong in Italy, his first object was to crush it in Milan. He summoned for this pur-

pose all the Italians of the north to meet him at Roncaglia near Piacenza, and Venice, among the rest, sent her contingent. But Frederick Barbarossa did nothing at that time, and when he returned to Italy from Germany with a fresh army, he found that all the free cities had determined not to support him. Venice especially was opposed to his ambition, and had joined the League of Lombardy.

When the emperors of the West and East made peace, it seemed to Manuel that the moment had arrived for avenging the insult offered him by sailors in the Venetian fleet, twenty-three years before. He arrested all Venetians in his empire and seized their property. No consideration of their engagement to the League of Lombardy, or to the German emperor could restrain the Venetians from rushing into war with the Greeks; neither could financial considerations. A loan was raised, and is perhaps the first instance of the issue of government bonds. In one hundred days the doge had a fleet ready to put to sea. It was met on its way by ambassadors from Manuel, declaring he had no desire for war, and asking the Venetians to send an embassy to Constantinople to settle their dispute with him. It was a trap set to gain time, and it succeeded. The Venetian ambassadors were imprisoned, and the chief of them, Enrico Dandolo, was made blind,—perhaps only one eye was put out, for he afterward performed deeds of daring valor. The ships had been laid up at Chios and while there the plague broke out. Thousands of sailors died; the rest mutinied, and carried their plague ships back to Venice. Furious, with their doge who had

sent forth the expedition, the citizens struck him down in the street and killed him.

The Ventians were now convinced that they had given to their doges too much power. They made some changes in the constitution of their state, which lasted until 1311, when the famous Council of Ten was established. But the reforms made in 1171, were not in the interest of democracy; by them the young oligarchy of the republic took its first step toward the exclusion of the voices of the people.

In the struggle between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III., the two agreed at last to meet in Venice. Frederick took his place in the ducal gondola between the doge and the patriarch, and in procession was conducted across the lagoon to the Mole of St. Mark. There he landed and passed up the Piazzetta, until he came before the church where the pope was awaiting him, seated on his throne. At sight of him Frederick removed his cloak, and humbly bending, kissed his foot. The pope raised him, and bestowed on him the kiss of peace.

When Innocent III. mounted the papal throne, to preach the fourth crusade was his great object and delight. He sent ambassadors to Venice to engage ships and the assistance of the Venetians. The doge promised transport for fifteen hundred horse, nine thousand esquires, fifteen hundred knights, and ten thousand foot, but he drove rather a hard bargain in the matter of remuneration. The ambassadors accepted his terms, however, and one of them, after mass, asked the assistance of the people in the enterprise, in response to which they all shouted, "We agree!"

The Venetians thought, as indeed did all the crusaders, that their ships were bound for the Holy Land, but there was a secret understanding among the crusading leaders that they would first attack the Saracens in Egypt, and would land at Alexandria.

Disputes arose. The crusaders did not come up to their engagements about the transports, and accused the Venetians, when in consequence they drew back, of treachery. The Venetians, up to July, 1202, had not taken the Cross. However, on the 26th of August, St. Mark's day, the Doge Dandolo publicly asked his people if they were content that he should do so. They all answered, "Yes."

There was intrigue within intrigue among the leaders of the crusade, for the fate of the deposed Greek emperor, Isaac Comnenuse and his son Alexius, entered into the situation. What the genuine crusaders feared was done. Constantinople was attacked and the emperor reinstated. But the crusading soldiers received far less pay than they expected, revolutions followed, and the emperor and his son were overthrown. Dandolo and Boniface of Montferrat, twice assaulted Constantinople, and at last took it together with its new emperor. The army of the Cross had become a scourge more terrible to Greek Christians than any pagan host had ever been.

These events bring us down to the year 1202. There was talk in the army of choosing a new emperor of Constantinople. Boniface, Dandolo, and Baldwin were the candidates. Dandolo declined the honor, but gave his vote and influence for Baldwin, who was elected.

Thus ended the fourth crusade, which had never attacked the infidels. Venice acquired great influence in the Mediterranean and had a large share of the rich spoils of the Imperial City. But in the end these events exposed the republic to a long series of wars, and materially contributed to her ultimate ruin.

From this time for a hundred and fifty years the history of Venice is chiefly the history of Constantinople and of the Greek empire. At one time there was on foot a proposal to abandon Venice for Constantinople. It was urged that the interests of Venice were decidedly in the East, that the center of government was too far away from its possessions, and that the city was exposed to danger from earthquakes and floods. But patriotic feeling at once put aside the proposal. No people in Italy were more deeply attached than the Venetians to the very stones of their city. When the municipalities of Lombardy adopted the policy of putting themselves under the rule of *podestas* from foreign cities, Venetian nobles were in great request. It strengthened the republic to have her citizens rulers of such neighboring cities as Treviso and Padua.

The continual struggle caused by commercial jealousy between Venice and Genoa we may tell later in this chapter. We may pause, however, to tell of the conspiracy of Marino Faliero in 1354, a story less known through history than in poetry. Born in 1274, he was nearly seventy when he commanded the Venetian forces at the siege of Zara, where in 1346 the Venetians gained a complete victory over the king of Hungary. Faliero was elected doge in 1354. His

reign had a tragic commencement and a tragic close. The Venetians were at war with Genoa, and the Venetian fleet was captured by the enemy. Faliero, though a prudent statesman, had a hot temper. A young noble having taken some liberties with a maiden of one of the noble houses, Faliero ordered him to be expelled from a scene of festivity. In revenge for this the young man wrote some scurrilous lines which he affixed to the doge's chair. He was arrested for this offense and condemned to two months' imprisonment. But the doge, deeming this punishment insufficient, headed a conspiracy to arrest all the nobles in Venice, and to make himself despot of the republic.

The conspiracy was, however, discovered, and the doge and the principal conspirators having been arrested, were executed April 17, 1355. Petrarch, who was Faliero's friend, has related the circumstances of this plot in one of his letters.

The Venetians who exercised a preponderating influence in the Levant, obtained possession of Cyprus in 1487. Catarina Cornaro, a Venetian lady, had married James, king of the island, who by that marriage, hoped to secure the support of the powerful republic. But King James and his successor dying without children, Catarina found herself unable to resist the increasing power of the Turks, and surrendered her sovereign power to the Venetian republic (1487) and the Venetians retained the island for eighty years.

In 1204, when the Greek empire was broken up, Crete fell to the share of Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, who sold it to the Venetians. They governed

the island for four hundred years, but their rule was considered more oppressive and arbitrary than that of the Turks, especially as they introduced the Inquisition, which had been established in Venice in 1250. In 1648, after the Venetians had held possession of the island for four centuries, it was reconquered by the Turks, and ever since has had a turbulent and distracted history.

“Genoa, the commercial rival of Venice, was among the grandest of the medieval republics, and was almost the most powerful; in her career she humbled Pisa, and she well-nigh triumphed over her great rival, Venice. Princes were her vassals, kings her prisoners. She was the pioneer in the paths of commerce for the Dutch and for the English. Her factions at home, and her wars abroad were long before they could eradicate her inherent vitality. After each revolution she roused herself with new vigor, and it was not until after her own citizen, Christopher Columbus, had discovered for other powers new sources of wealth and commerce, and her own mariners had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, that her decadence set in.”

When the crusades were preached, and Venice was asked to furnish transport to the soldiers of the Cross, Genoa was also called upon to lend her assistance.

Richard Cœur de Lion, on his way to the second crusade, embarked at Genoa, and in compliment to that city, adopted St. George, its patron saint, as the champion saint of England. As St. George was a Cappadocian Christian the ecclesiastical herald's office had to find him a family record that would asso-

ciate him with the new country placed under his protection.

The history of Genoa during the Dark Ages is the same as that of the other Italian communes which succeeded in wresting from contending princes and barons charters which created them free cities.

Rivaling proud Venice in the East, Genoa secured ports and commercial privileges in the Levant; she even built fortresses on the Black Sea, and on the banks of the Euphrates. Her commercial prosperity is the more remarkable because her citizens, unlike the Venetians, had rarely peace within her walls. She took part in all the Guelph and Ghibelline disputes, was sometimes the ally of the pope and sometimes of the emperor. She completely crushed the Pisans in 1288 at the battle of Meloria, and she was very near doing the same thing by the Venetians, when she defeated them in the battle of Chioggia in 1380. But no state in Italy was so torn with factions as Genoa.

In the battle of Meloria the Pisans were deserted by their ally, Count Ugolino della Gheradesca, who afterward fell into the hands of the Genoese, and was imprisoned in the Tower of Famine. His story has been told by Dante, and has created great sympathy for him, among innumerable readers of the *Divina Commedia*—a sympathy which the real Count Ugolino little deserved. Pisa was ruined by the Genoese victory at Meloria, and her port destroyed. She became an inland town, instead of a commercial city.

The ship-masters of Genoa were not scrupulous in matters of piracy. In early days they stole from certain monks of Myrrha the bones of John the Baptist

and brought them home in several ships, not daring to trust so precious a treasure to the fortunes of one vessel. The bones were received in Genoa with as much enthusiasm and delight as those of St. Mark had been in the rival city.

The greatest institution in Genoa was, perhaps, its bank, the Bank of St. George, which did business for all Europe, and may be said to have held in the Middle Ages much the same position as the Bank of England in modern times.

The chief families in Genoa were Fieschi, Doria, Spinola, and Grimaldi. In after years it was claimed that the name of Buonaparti was on their roll of honor. It was a city much visited by men of letters. Petrarch, after his expulsion from Florence, took service with the Genoese, and was entrusted with several important missions. Dante was there, and so was Chaucer. Possibly it was in Genoa that the latter learned to speak of Dante as "the great poet of *Italie*."

But the greatest glory of both Venice and Genoa in those days comes from their seamen and their travelers.

Marco Polo, who was born in 1254, and died in 1324, was a Venetian. He was a member of a noble and well-known family. His father and uncle were also great travelers, who visited China, the Crimea, and a variety of Eastern kingdoms about the middle of the thirteenth century. Marco, who was in his boyhood while they were on this journey, accompanied his father and uncle when they set out a second time to the East. He was then eighteen. The object of these travelers was to spy the land, and see what were

the prospects for the introduction of Christianity into Chinese Tartary. The elder Polos had come home to report to the pope, but there was then no pope at Rome to receive them. It was a time of interregnum, neither was there any pope when they set out upon their second journey. The great khan had asked for one hundred Christian teachers, but they could only be supplied at that time with two Dominicans, who became disheartened and turned back soon after reaching Palestine. From Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, where they failed to procure shipping for China, they struck northward and followed very much the track of the Trans-Caspian railroad, by Yarkand and Khotan, into southern China. Modern travelers have traced and illustrated their route. The great khan received them favorably at what was apparently his new city of Peking (Cambabuc). He took a great fancy to young Marco, who applied himself diligently to the study of the languages in his kingdom. A French traveler has recently discovered that in 1277 a certain Polo was attached to the Imperial Council. In missions for the khan, and as his agent, Marco traveled into various parts of China, and had many facts of interest to relate to his master when he returned to court, for the khan was insatiable for tales of adventure and travel.

When Kablai Khan died, his successor was desirous to secure a wife from Mongolia. The ambassadors deputed for this mission, begged that the Venetian traveler might accompany them. The embassy secured a princess who was, as Marco describes her, "*moult bele dame, et avenant.*" After this the three Polos returned home by way of Persia, and we next hear of Marco as

gentleman commander on board one of the galleys under Dandolo's command, bound to attack the fleet of Genoa.

In this engagement the Genoese were victorious, and Marco Polo, with seven thousand other captives, was carried to Genoa. In prison he fell in with a man who wanted to write down his wonderful adventures, and the composition of this book greatly relieved the tedium of their captivity.

Marco married and left daughters. He died about 1325, at the age of seventy, and was buried in a tomb that, with filial care, he had erected for his father.

Toward the end of the fourteenth century, Josefa Barbaro, a Venetian noble, whose family palace still stands on the Grand Canal, was sent on a mission to the Court of Persia; he had interesting adventures of which the records still exist, but they are not widely known like the travels of Marco Polo.

Christopher Columbus, born in 1434 or 1435, was son of a wool-comber in Genoa. His father afterward moved his business to Savona, and lived until his son returned from the West Indies. Christopher was his eldest son, and was sent to the University of Pavia. He returned home when his college course was finished, and for a while assisted his father, but his wish was to be a sailor. We know little of his early voyages, but he says of them himself, "Wherever a ship can sail I have sailed."

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

Venice founded in 421; the bride of the Adriatic; Doge Orseolo and Dalmatian pirates, 1001. The doge and the Church of St. Mark; bones of the saint, 823. Freedom and commercial power of Venice; influence in the crusades; jealousy of Pisa. Venice joins the League of Lombardy; curtails the power of the doge, 1171; tendency to oligarchy. The fourth crusade, 1202; fall of Constantinople; Dandolo declines to be Greek emperor. Connection of Venice with the cities of the mainland. The tragedy of Faliero. Venice holds Cyprus, 1487-1567, and Crete for 400 years; oppresses the islanders and introduces the inquisition. Genoa; rival of Pisa, a crusading city, turbulent home government, center of commerce and travel; visited by men of letters. Imprisons Marco Polo. Christopher Columbus.

1. How and why was Venice founded? 2. What was the origin of the ceremonial of the "Espousal of the Sea"? 3. Why were the Venetians free when the rest of Italy was enslaved? 4. What was the position of the doge? 5. What is the story of the Venetian capture of St. Mark? 6. How was the power of Venice felt in the crusades? 7. How did she incur the ill will of the Greek emperor and of Pisa? 8. What relation had Venice to the League of Lombardy? 9. How did the Greek emperor entrap the Venetians in 1171? 10. What effect had this on the home government? 11. Describe the meeting of Pope Alexander and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in Venice. 12. How was Venice induced to take part in the Fourth Crusade? 13. What was the real object of this crusade? 14. Describe the struggle over Constantinople. 15. What influence had these events upon Venice? 16. How was Venice involved in the affairs of other cities of Italy? 17. What is the tragic story of Faliero? 18. When were Cyprus and Crete under Venetian influence? 19. What connection had Genoa with the crusades? 20. Describe her various relations with Pisa. 21. How did she rival Venice in her devotion to saints? 22. What literary associations has the city? 23. What was

true of her internal history? 24. Describe the life of Marco Polo. 25. What were the early events in the life of Christopher Columbus?

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CHAPTER VII

ANARCHY AND DESOLATION IN THE CITIES OF LOMBARDY — SIR JOHN HAWKWOOD — GIAN GALEAZZO VISCONTI

The latter part of the fourteenth century in Italy was marked by repeated visitations of the plague, and by numerous bands of free companies (or hired soldiers), whose captains, having lost employment in France and England, persuaded their men to follow them to make war on the whole world, and divide among themselves the pay and booty.

The institution of captain of the people in the great towns had now given place to the rule of six independent princes in Lombardy. The Visconti were lords of Milan; the marquis of Montferrat ruled in the Piedmontese mountains, the Della Scala family in Verona, the Estes in Ferrara, Gonzaga in Mantua, and Carrara in Padua. The weaker princes made a league against the Visconti, taking into their service a formidable association of German mercenaries called "the Great Company," which took their pay, but spreading themselves over the country pillaged and outraged friend and foe. When the League could no longer afford to pay the "Great Company," it entered into the service of the Siennese, who let it loose upon Perugia. But the Florentines refused to permit these robbers to enter Tuscany. They closed the passes of the Apennines,

and armed the mountaineers, thereby bringing down upon themselves the wrath of the free companies, who determined, as they said, to pillage those rich merchants whom they held to be unwarlike and unable to defend themselves. The Florentines assembled a purely Italian army and the "Great Company," very much to its amazement, found itself outgeneraled at every point, and never could get over the Florentine frontier.

Florence indeed had seen troubled days during the ten years that succeeded the death of Dante. Like other cities of the Lombard League, she had grown weary of her own misgovernment, and looked about her for some valiant foreigner, whom she could make her ruler. In 1326, there had come to Florence, on his way from Naples to France, a young man named Gaultier de Brienne, calling himself duke of Athens. His father, an adventurer, had held that title under several of the Greek emperors, but it had been revoked. Gaultier was brave, and very clever. The Florentines took a fancy to him. They protested that they should never have met misfortune had he been at the head of their affairs. On August 1, 1342, they obliged their *signoria* to name him captain of the people; that is, their chief judge and head of their army.

The French adventurer had little idea of government except that it was good policy to cut off the heads of his enemies. The Florentines bore with him ten months, during which, when his attention was not occupied by inflicting torture or ordering executions, he was intriguing to get himself named captain in other Lombard cities. "He united," says Sismondi,

“all the qualities that Machiavelli, one hundred and sixty years later, enumerated as necessary to a prince, the founder of a despotism. Courageous, dissembling, patient, clear-sighted, and perfidious, he knew neither respect nor pity, he was bound by no affection, and no principle.” In ten months he drew from the treasury of the republic three hundred thousand golden florins, which he sent either to France or Naples. His rule made the Florentines of all parties and of all classes unite against him in a three-branched conspiracy. He became more and more apprehensive. He convoked three hundred of the most conspicuous citizens of Florence to confer with him in his palace, and had given orders to have every one of them killed. But the mass of the citizens had admirably arranged their plans. Suddenly the streets of Florence, which had remained perfectly quiet, each man going about his own affairs, resounded with the cry to arms. *Popolo! Popolo! Libertà!*

In a moment from the housetops poured down a shower of stones on the duke's cavalry stationed in the streets. Chains that had been made ready blocked all passages. The citizens, well armed, marched on the palace. The duke, with some German soldiers, tried to defend himself. He might have held out, but they had no provisions. He escaped and was concealed by the bishop of Florence, who after six days sent him out of the city with his cavalry, to whom he owed considerable pay. With them he reached Venice, and there embarked by stealth for Naples, and there he hoped to avoid paying his men, who though robbers and murderers, had bravely stood by him.

The most distinguished of the *condottiere* (mercenary leaders in Italy in those days) was Sir John Hawkwood, an Englishman. He was the son of a man of some property in Essex near Colchester, and when about twenty years of age, he went to France, in 1343; whether voluntarily or drafted into the military service of King Edward III., is not known. He distinguished himself, however, at the battle of Poitiers, under the Black Prince, and was knighted by King Edward.

After the Peace of Bretigny was signed in 1360, he and many other soldiers of fortune, unwilling to return to quiet life, formed themselves into bands of free companies. They were ready to hire themselves to such sovereigns or states as would employ them. They were found very serviceable in harrying the lands of any enemy of the state or prince who paid them for their services, and their presence was considered so disastrous that they were often paid to keep out of some territory that they threatened to enter not as enemies but as friends. They were robbers and plunderers by profession, and, if opportunity presented itself, were ready to enrich themselves at the expense of friend or foe.

In 1365 the four principal bands roving about Italy in search of plunder and employment were the English under Sir John Hawkwood; the Germans under two brothers, Lucius and Eberhard Landau; the Bretons; and somewhat later a band of Germans, called the Great Company. Of these the only leader who ever showed compassion, or ever kept faith with his employers, was Sir John Hawkwood—yet even he was forced by the exigencies of his situation to take part

in the awful massacre of Cesara, when under orders from the pope's legate (afterward Pope Clement VII.) more than four thousand unresisting citizens, their wives and children, were murdered in cold blood by troops wintering in Cesara, a friendly city. This slaughter filled all Europe with horror, and did much to weaken the influence of prelates among the population.

In 1377 Sir John Hawkwood, disgusted with the massacre of Cesara, and tempted by great offers made him by the League of Lombardy, took service for the Florentines, who before that time had given him mighty bribes to keep out of their country. He had for some years been, in some irregular way, attached to the service of Barnabo Visconti, then ruler in Milan, who gave to him his beautiful daughter, Donnina, and the nuptials were celebrated at Milan with great lavishness of gifts and brilliant ceremonies. Sir John acquired great wealth besides castles and lands in Romagna. Florence at one time paid him and his company one hundred and thirty thousand florins not to set foot for three months in their territory.

After gaining many victories for Florence, Sir John, in his old age, lived in a villa in the outskirts of that city. At his death Florence gave him a most magnificent funeral, and his picture in fresco was painted on the walls of the cathedral.

After Florence had got rid of the duke of Athens, she was continually guarding against the ambition of the Visconti, who aimed at the subjugation of all Italy. They had contrived to acquire Bologna, and to make alliances with the Ghibelline lords in the

Apennines, but the growing power of Gian Galeazzo Visconti made Florence apprehensive, for Florentines knew that no Visconti could be bound by a pledge.

Suddenly, without any declaration of war, an army commanded by one of the Visconti was marched into Tuscany. Behind walls the Tuscans could always make a stubborn fight, and the first little town besieged made so formidable a resistance that the Milanese army at length moved away.

The history of Italy during the last years of the fourteenth century is one miserable, continuous struggle for power on the one part, on the other to find means of escaping from under it.

The popes, after seventy years of exile, came back from Avignon in 1377. The pontiff who returned was Gregory XI. By this time all parties were weary of war. What stood in the way of peace was the profound distrust inspired by the Visconti.

Gregory XI. died in 1378. A conclave was called to make a new pope. The Romans insisted it could meet only in their city. Such cardinals as they could assemble there elected Urban VI. He was unsatisfactory even to his electors, who declared the election void, and elected another pope, Clement VII., a cruel, violent man, who had urged and promoted the terrible massacre two years before, while he was papal legate at Cesara.

Clement transferred his papal court to Naples, but afterward decided to return to Avignon. Urban VI., in Rome, treated Clement and all the cardinals who had elected him, as schismatics, and so the fierce dispute rolled on. Urban died in Genoa, having made

himself hateful to the Romans who had promoted him.

Florence was now divided into two factions, no longer Bianchi and Neri, or Guelphs and Ghibellines, but into the class of citizens who carried on the government, and the democracy whom they excluded. A supreme ruler seemed the only remedy. Four families were prominent, the Scali, the Strozzi, the Alberti, and the Medici. Up to those days the latter family had never taken a prominent place in Florence, their name had been hardly known to their fellow citizens, but within a few years the family had come into notice by reason of its great wealth.

There was no union between the leading aristocratic families in Florence. As formerly the Guelphs had split into Bianchi and Neri, so now the nobility divided under two leaders, the Albizzi and the Ricci. In a factional dispute, in the summer of 1378, Silvestro de' Medici, who had been made by lot gonfalonier (standard bearer or chief ruler), appealed to the people to support him and his friends against the rising oligarchy, which, under pretense of maintaining the ancient Guelph party in its purity, wanted to exclude from power all those whose ancestors had been Ghibellines, and now encouraged division in a republic to which union was necessary. The measure proposed by Silvestro de' Medici passed by an immense majority.

But this victory, which was considered a democratic triumph, led to further demands on the people's part, and much rioting and disorder; then a workman, Michael Lando, barefooted and half dead, came forward suddenly, carrying in his hand the gonfalon of

the state, which he had snatched up in the palace of the *podestà*. The people hailed him as their chief, and he at once restored order. His government was excellent, but it lasted only a short time. Florence blushed to think that she had entrusted power to a man of his class, and at the next opportunity placed Silvestro de' Medici and two other aristocrats at the head of the government. The reforms of Michael Lando were set aside and he himself, with many of his followers, was sent into exile.

In Florence, and in other cities, the monied class had now become aristocrats. They disputed precedence, social and political, with the more ancient families, and in general it was the aristocracy of wealth that succeeded in obtaining power.

It was about the time of these troubles in Florence that the great naval battle of Chioggia, which has been already alluded to, took place between the Genoese and the Venetians. On the first day of January, 1380, the Genoese admiral, Carlo Zeno, arrived off the lagoons, with a fleet he had collected in the Eastern seas. His project was to blockade Venice, cutting her off from the Adriatic, by holding the canals and waterways which communicated with the open water. Chioggia was on one of the islands in the lagoons, and was used by the Venetians as a sort of naval station. But instead of waiting to be besieged, the Venetians besieged their besiegers. They shut up the forty-eight galleys, and fourteen thousand Genoese sailors (or soldiers) in the waters round Chioggia. There their supplies fell short. In vain the lord of Padua, from the mainland, made great efforts to succor them. In

vain Genoa sent a new fleet to the Adriatic to their assistance. After destroying their galleys and making vain attempts to get off in open boats to the fleet that lay outside awaiting them, the Genoese, after six months of siege, surrendered at discretion. It was "a glorious victory," won without a battle, and it led to a treaty of peace between the two rival republics.

In the last years of the century the terror in which the house of Visconti, lords of Milan, had held Florence and the other Italian republics, had somewhat subsided. The Visconti were at strife among themselves. At length a second Galeazzo, by treachery and murder, despoiled his uncle, Bernabo, seized the reins of power, and before the close of the century all Lombardy had submitted to him. "False and pitiless, he joined to immeasurable ambition a genius for enterprise, and to immovable constancy a personal timidity that he did not care to conceal. No prince ever employed so many soldiers to guard his palace, or took such multiplied precautions to insure his safety. But the vices of tyranny had not weakened his ability; he employed his immense wealth without prodigality. His soldiers were always well paid, and the free companies scattered throughout Italy were prompt to return to his service whenever he might summon them."

This prince, known as Gian Galeazzo Visconti to distinguish him from the Galeazzo who, twenty years before, had employed the services of Sir John Hawkwood, having pushed the frontier of his principality of Milan almost up to the lagoons, planned an attack on Venice.

The Florentines, dreading the encroachments of Milan, began open war against that city and its tyrant, but discouraged by a serious reverse inflicted by the "White Band" of young nobles, under their leader, Giacomo del Verme, Milan made peace. But the Florentines did not expect it to last long. They well knew the perfidy of Gian Galeazzo, who had purchased from a traitor and usurper the city of Pisa in 1399. He also about the same time gained possession of Perugia. The Florentines were thus deprived of all possible allies in Northern Italy, except the maritime republics, Venice and Genoa.

Gian Galeazzo continued his career of successful perfidy until September 3, 1402, when he was carried off by the plague, which two years before had entered Tuscany and deprived the free states of their remaining vigor. In Florence it swept off all the magistrates on whose prudence and courage the citizens relied. It did the same thing in Lucca and Bologna. Any adventurer who chose to put himself forward could now, with impunity, seize the government of those cities.

The Florentines, having no longer communication with the sea by way of Sienna, Pisa, Lucca, and Bologna, which had given themselves up to low adventurers who sold them to Galeazzo, saw the sources of her wealth and commerce on the point of drying up. Never had Florence been in more imminent danger, when the plague, which had so greatly augmented her calamities, brought her deliverance by carrying off the tyrant of Milan in spite of all the precautions he had taken to avoid infection.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

The plague and the condottieri in Italy. The six independent princes of Lombardy; warfare by weaker princes in league with "the Great Company." Florence and "the Duke of Athens," 1326. Sir John Hawkwood, with the English at Poitiers; the massacre at Cesara; marries daughter of Barnabo Visconti of Milan; acquires great wealth, castles and lands in Romagna. Florence struggles with the Visconti. The popes return from Avignon. Charles of Durazzo becomes king of Naples. Internal struggles in Florence, the Scali, Strozzi, Alberti, and Medici; two factions. Silvestro de' Medici and Michael Lando. Aristocracy of wealth. 1380, Venice and Genoa at Chioggia. Gian Galeazzo Visconti tyrannizes over Lombardy.

1. What two calamities visited Italy in the last part of the fourteenth century? 2. What six independent princes ruled in Lombardy? 3. How did the weaker princes prey upon their neighbors? 4. Describe the experience of Florence with Gaultier, Duke of Athens. 5. What four bands of mercenaries terrorized Italy in and about 1365? 6. What struggle between Florence and the Visconti marked this time? 7. What state of confusion marked the return of the popes from Avignon? 8. Into whose hands did the crown of Naples pass? 9. What factions were being felt in Florence at this time? 10. What appeal to the people was made by Silvestro de' Medici? 11. How was he set aside and then reinstated? 12. Describe the siege of Chioggia. 13. Describe the struggle of Florence against Gian Galeazzo Visconti. 14. Describe the schism which arose in the Church. 15. How did the plague both scourge and liberate the people.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS—THE RISE OF THE MEDICI

The fifteenth century was signalized in Europe by what is called the Renaissance, the rebirth of letters. The art of printing was discovered, poets had appeared in many countries, and men's minds had been set thinking about ecclesiastical abuses, and the relations of God the Father to His children, and what rule the church ought to establish over men.

Already a love of architecture had beautified the Italian cities. The spirit of Dante had awakened a love for poetry. Galeazzo Visconti had founded a professorship for the study of the *Divina Commedia*. Petrarch had written sonnets. *Boccaccio* had written tales, Giotto had adorned churches. During the first years of the fifteenth century Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, all of them destined to be great poets, were little boys, but they grew up amidst an environment which no doubt turned their minds to poetry. Yet one wonders how anything "pure, lovely, and of good report" could have taken root in times, when, even in a country so fertile in tyrants as Italy, never was power so stained by crimes.

The policy of Venice was purely selfish. Her Council of Ten took only self-interest for their guide. Italian political virtue was to be found only in Flor-

ence. There the citizens always approved measures that they held to be just, able, and generous, measures that might promote intelligence and civilization.

In three years after the death of Gian Galeazzo (during the regency of Catherine, his wicked wife, who during her son's minority, claimed rule over his duchy) Sienna, Perugia, and Bologna threw off the Visconti's yoke, and Florence would have recovered her route to the sea and her commercial advantages, if Pisa had not remained in the hands of a Visconti. She had been given to one of Gian Galeazzo's natural sons. There was, however, a French garrison in the citadel. The general in command of it, for treachery was the fashion of the day, offered to sell it to the Florentines for four hundred thousand florins. The Pisans discovered the plot, and took possession of their city, but Boucicault, the French general, retained possession of the citadel and other strongholds. These he offered to sell the Florentines for two hundred and sixty thousand florins, which they stipulated he was to divide with the young Visconti. To escape from this engagement Boucicault invented a pretext, and beheaded the lad. But the Florentines did not get easy possession of their purchase. The Pisans spent all their wealth to buy the services of *condottieri*. They lost, however, all their fortresses and all their territory, and their city was at last delivered up by their general who, for fifty thousand florins, agreed to open its gates to the enemy.

The victorious Florentines tried to treat the Pisans with generosity, but nothing would reconcile the citi-

zens to the loss of their independence. The most ancient and wealthy families moved to Lucca, Sardinia, and Sicily. The young men almost all engaged in companies of adventure, hoping to find in camp-life an independence which they could no longer hope for in their own land. Pisa, in losing its liberty, lost its commerce, its population, and every remnant of prosperity which had remained to it after its port had been blocked up by the Genoese.

For twenty-seven years there had been a schism in the church; a pope and an anti-pope, one holding his court in Rome, the other (for the second time) in Avignon. All men and all princes were anxious to put an end to this state of affairs. The king of France besieged the pope in Avignon to compel him to make peace. He agreed at last to abdicate, but his rival, Gregory XII., whom it was stipulated was to abdicate at the same time, refused. At last the cardinals, losing all patience, called together an ecumenical council, deposed both popes, and elected Alexander V. Still the deposed pontiffs would not submit. One retired to Aragon, the other to Sicily. Then there were three popes in the church, and all over Europe reigned schism and confusion.

Ladislaus, king of Naples, son of Charles of Durazzo, who had succeeded the infamous Joanna, took advantage of this schism to invade the States of the Church, and from 1399 to 1408 war broke out over Southern Italy as fiercely as it had been raging in Lombardy. Ladislaus took Rome, and then proceeded to conquer Perugia, Sienna, and other cities in the alliance with Florence. In this extremity the

Florentines turned for assistance to Louis of Anjou, whom Charles of Durazzo had dispossessed of the crown of Sicily, while at the same time they secured the assistance of Braccio, one of two famous Italian soldiers of fortune, to whom the scattered bands of free companions readily attached themselves. The other commander was Sforza Attendolo, a peasant of Romagna. Braccio was distinguished for his impetuous valor, Sforza for his prudence, coolness, and steadiness. They had been comrades when they first embraced war as their profession, but now they were leaders of rival bands, almost invariably opposed to each other.

Braccio and the Florentines took Rome in 1410, and then Florence offered Ladislaus peace, which he eagerly accepted, but like nearly all other Italians of that day in his position, he broke its terms as soon as his army had had time to rest, and the war began again.

Ladislaus was so well supported that the Florentines, discouraged by the successes of his captain, Sforza, had begun to lose heart, when Ladislaus died. His sister, Queen Joanna II., a woman no better than Joanna I., succeeded him, and she and her lovers before long ruined the kingdom of Naples, and then Florence was threatened by a new enemy, Filippo Maria Visconti, brother of Gian Maria, son of Gian Galeazzo, and third duke of Milan. Filippo attached Facino Cane, a celebrated *condottiere*, to his service by marrying his daughter, and then set about recovering all the dependencies which had belonged to the dominions of his father. He was so ugly that he could

not bear to be looked at, and was so timid that he must have rendered his life worthless by his precautions to preserve it. He was perfidious and without pity for his subjects. He seemed no less alarmed at the success of his own generals than at that of his enemies. He trusted no one. He would have ruined Lombardy if the fertility of that rich province had not exceeded his powers of mischief.

By chance he witnessed the splendid courage of Francesco Carmagnola, a Piedmontese adventurer, and made him his general. The victories of Carmagnola were brilliant, and he was a man of noble character. All Lombardy submitted to him, even the republic of Genoa. Then the armies of Filippo Maria were turned against the pope in Romagna and Tuscany.

Two princes in Naples, where one of them, Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, had been named by Queen Joanna as her heir, quarreled after her death for the inheritance. The Florentines sided with Alfonso, who placed Braccio at the head of his army, while the duke of Milan, in alliance with Louis of Anjou, the other pretender, took Sforza for his general. In 1424 Sforza was drowned while crossing a river, and six months after Braccio was mortally wounded. Their bands elected new commanders, and kept up their reputation.

The army of Filippo Maria Visconti continued to advance, and Florence in despair sent an embassy to Venice. "You reproach us," said the ambassador, "for not having opposed Filippo Maria in time, and you say we have made him duke of Milan and master of Genoa. You, if you do not stand by us, will make

him king of Italy. We, in our turn, if we must submit, will make him emperor."

It was at this juncture that Francesco Carmagnola arrived in Venice. He had been too successful in the service of his suspicious master, who disgraced him and deprived him of his employment without any reason. Carmagnola then withdrew to Piedmont, his native country. His wife and children were arrested and his property confiscated. He fled for his life through Germany to Venice and there told the council of the designs his late master harbored against them. This secret determined the Venetians and their doge, Francesco Foscari, to oppose the rising ambition of the Milanese ruler. A league was formed against him of powerful states and some foreign princes. War was declared (1426) and Carmagnola was placed at the head of the allied army. His exploits were most brilliant, but he incurred the jealous displeasure of the Venetians by generously releasing young Sforza, Piccinino, and some other illustrious captains whom he had taken prisoner. Later in his campaign, in 1431, fortune turned against him.

The senate of Venice made it a rule never to employ its citizens as soldiers, but to hire foreigners to fight; it also made it a rule to treat the generals and officers of mercenary troops with great rigor. The council resolved on the punishment of the unsuccessful Carmagnola, but they received him on his return to Venice with the highest honors. They escorted him to the senate chamber, encouraged him to address them, and his speech was applauded. But as day began to close, and the chamber grew dark, soldiers

of the police came stealthily in, flung themselves upon the general, bound him and dragged him to the dungeons. Twenty days after his arrest he was brought forth, with his mouth gagged lest he should address the people. He was placed between two columns on the Great Square of St. Mark and there beheaded, an object lesson to the people of Venice that the senate meant to rule them by terror.

We turn now to Florence and to the rise of the Medici. We have mentioned Silvestro de' Medici, but history records little more about him. The first very illustrious member of the house was Cosimo, born in 1389; he was a son of the founder of the family Giovanni de' Medici. This good old man, upon his deathbed, in 1428, exhorted his two sons, Cosimo and Lorenzo, to follow his example, that they might live in their native place honored and respected. "Nothing affords me more pleasure," he said, "than the reflection that my conduct has given offense to no one; but that on the contrary I have endeavored to serve all persons to the best of my ability."

The republic of Florence stood fourth among the states of Italy in wealth and importance. More generous than Venice, it had frequently endangered itself in wars which exposed it to invasion. Less prudent in its internal administration, it had more than once experienced the convulsions of contending factions, and sometimes even those of temporary tyranny. On the other side, the Florentines owed to the nature of their government a degree of energy, activity, and intelligence, which enabled them rapidly to repair their losses.

Cosimo de' Medici, even before his father's death, had served the state in some important offices, he had traveled to other cities, he had shown a deep interest in old Greek manuscripts and in Greek philosophy, both of which were just beginning to be appreciated in Italy, which owed its first interest in the Greek language and Greek poetry to Boccaccio.

The leader of the aristocracy of Florence in 1433 was Rinaldo degli Albizzi. He was impetuous, arrogant, jealous, and impatient of all opposition. He fancied he saw a rival in the wealthy Cosimo, whose commercial affairs gave him great influence in other cities, and to a certain extent connected him with all parts of the world.

Rinaldo chose to consider Cosimo an ambitious democrat. He knew him to be no friend of the policy that had governed the affairs of Florence under the Albizzi; he knew that he thought the safety of the state had been endangered by imprudent wars, and that her finances had been injured by paying mercenary troops, and by the robberies of her commissaries. Cosimo had taken no open part against the government. Nevertheless Rinaldo had him arrested as a state criminal. Four days he remained in a dungeon, expecting death by poison or by violence. Later, owing to the pressure of public opinion, the rigor of his imprisonment was relaxed, but with his brother, Lorenzo, and his friends, he was sent into exile. Everywhere he went he was received with honor and hospitality, as a leading patron of learning and of art.

A year after this exile the same fate fell on Rinaldo degli Albizzi, who revenged himself on Florence by

going to the court of her enemy, the duke of Milan, and persuading him to make war upon his native city. Filippo Maria Visconti listened to his suggestions. He placed Nicolo Piccinino at the head of his forces, while Florence employed Francesco Sforza, son and successor of the first captain of that name.

Francesco Sforza was an intimate friend of Cosimo de' Medici. When Filippo Maria made peace with the Florentines, after a short campaign in 1441, he deemed it good policy to give Bianca, his natural daughter, in marriage to Francesco Sforza, his enemy's successful general, who in a subsequent campaign fought for the duke of Milan, his father-in-law. In August, 1447, Filippo Maria Visconti died, leaving no male heirs. The citizens of Milan then asserted their former independence and claimed the right to choose a captain of the people. Their choice fell upon Francesco Sforza, who at the head of his brilliant band of mercenary soldiers was at hand.

Francesco was one of the most distinguished captains of his age, and had had a reputation not only for frankness and liberality but for truth and generosity. "But it is not in the trade of captains of adventure that men can be formed to true honor." Francesco, raised to power, showed himself perfidious even to some of his own lieutenants, and by treachery earned the admiration and approval of Louis XI., of France. A sharp struggle with the Venetians resulted in a treaty with that city, by which he engaged to restore certain towns on condition that they would aid him in making a complete conquest of Milan, and all the dominions of the late Filippo Maria.

The Milanese were furiously angry, but other *condottieri* leaders, and most of the cities subject to Milan in Lombardy, favored the ambition of Sforza. He soon had possession of all the Milanese territory, though Milan itself held out against him. Its richest citizens, placing their fortunes at the command of the state, armed themselves, and as far as they could, the other defenders, with fire-locks, then a recent invention which proved a great terror to cavalry. The gates of Milan were, however, opened to Sforza in February, 1450, and the citizens proclaimed him duke of Milan.

In Rome a few years had made important changes. Up to this time, the magistrates of the city in their oaths, had always pledged themselves to *protect* the pope, never to take him as their ruler. The removal of the court to Avignon, and the schism which followed, gave Rome over to anarchy, and a strong ruler seemed its only hope. The pope, in 1450, was Nicholas V., a Florentine very intimate with Cosimo de' Medici. He, like his friend, had been devoted to learning, philosophy, and ancient literature, and after he became pope he showed some zeal for collections of ancient manuscripts and for translations from Greek writers, but he was resolved to put down the democratic spirit in the Eternal City. He put all offices into the hands of prelates, whom he himself appointed. Those who entered into controversy with the pope were exiled or executed, and the last spark of liberty in Rome was extinguished in blood.

In 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks and a flood of great learning poured over Europe. All

Christendom became interested in the Greek exiles and learned men. It was the beginning of that period called the Renaissance, the rebirth of men's interest in letters, and the Renaissance led to printing, and to the study of the Scriptures; the study of the Scriptures to the Reformation, and thence to all we know as modern Europe, with its annex, which, in 1453, had been never thought of—the civilization of a new world.

Cosimo de' Medici died in Florence August 1, 1464, in his seventy-fifth year. He held no public office, but his influence, during thirty years, had completely allayed the fermentation that had formerly agitated his native city. The rulers of Florence were chosen in the same way as before, invested with the same powers, subject to the same laws. Florence was full of merchant princes, who built splendid palaces, adorned churches, and their fellow citizens were proud of them. Florence had also a great statesman, the close friend of Cosimo de' Medici, Neri Capponi. He died, however, in 1455. Luca Pitti, the man who built the splendid Pitti palace in Florence, was ambitious of succeeding to the place so long occupied by Cosimo, but he made the construction of his palaces a means for assembling the discontented part of the population round him. He turned it into a sanctuary for debtors and criminals, who, safe within its walls, set officers of justice at defiance.

Francesco Sforza died at Milan eighteen months after Cosimo in Florence. Piero de' Medici, the elder son of Cosimo, too infirm to attend to business, and disheartened by what we call a commercial crisis, which occurred about this time, put his authority as ruler of

Florence into the hands of six citizens. His two sons, Lorenzo and Giuliano, were young men fond of pleasure and apparently without ambition. But they had an excellent mother, and looked to her for advice and sympathy.

Lorenzo de' Medici was born on New Year's day, 1449. His father, Piero, died in 1469, five years after Cosimo. He had been a kind, just man, with great personal charm, but discouraged by a sense of his physical disability.

Lorenzo and his brother had been carefully educated, and when the Turks conquered Constantinople, they acquired a learned Greek for their tutor. The boys gave no indication of an especial love for learning, but Lorenzo was early sent on semi-diplomatic missions, and his pleasant manners and handsome appearance won him favor with other princes, and indeed with everybody.

Luca Pitti, in 1466, made a conspiracy in Florence, and Lorenzo, who had been away upon his travels, arrived just in time to save his father. At the age of seventeen he had to take an important part in negotiations by which an apparently peaceful settlement was brought about.

Lorenzo was not so much occupied at seventeen with political cares, but that he gave some attention to poetry and to love. His betrothed was a beautiful Roman girl, named Clarice, one of the Orsini family. They were married in Florence with great festivity. Lorenzo made a most devoted husband, but his wife was never very strong, and she died nine years after her marriage.

It is pleasing after all the horrors we read as we turn each page of Italian history at this period, to have a little family picture like this to look upon. Lorenzo, however, was not all that was to have been hoped from his early love affair. In later life he was devoted to a married lady who had great charms of mind and manner, and whom he rode out to see at her country place every evening.

History accuses Lorenzo of having destroyed the liberties of Florence, but one of his advocates puts a defense into his mouth. Suppose he should say, "This city, Florence, was once a wrangling republic, she was presided over by liberty, clothed in the ragged scarlet of anarchy. She was the prey, not of one family, but of one hundred, who tore her to pieces with the greed of wolves. Now she is more at peace, more prosperous, than ever before in her history, her citizens are all happy and flourishing, with the exception of a handful of men who crave my place and power."

Jealousy of the Medici prompted three young men, one of whom had married Bianca, Lorenzo's sister, to form the Pazzi conspiracy in 1478, having had a new grievance, in a law passed through the influence of the Medici, which diverted an inheritance one of the brothers expected to receive, into another channel. Pope Sixtus IV. and the archbishop of Pisa were also in the conspiracy. Lorenzo and Giuliano were to be killed in church on the same day. Twice the plot failed, but at last it was undertaken by two priests, who set about it so unskilfully that Lorenzo was alarmed before the blow was struck and escaped; Giuliano, however, was killed. The citizens in Flor-

ence were furious. More than seventy of the conspirators were torn to pieces by the mob in the streets. The archbishop and two of the Pazzi were hanged at once, and there were many more executions.

Lorenzo, now the head of the house, ruled with a firm hand, but munificently and wisely. Especially he paid great attention to the arts and to letters, his own influence both as a poet and a man of taste making a strong impression upon the society of his day.

The most impressive figure of the time besides Lorenzo himself, was Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican monk of Ferrara. With wonderful powers of eloquence he preached a double reform, religious and political. He was shocked at the luxury and profligacy which, with wealth, had grown up in Florence under the rule of the Medici. He arrived in Florence on foot in the year 1489, and lodged in the Convent of San Marco, preaching with courage equal to his eloquence against scandalous abuses in church and state, injustice in criminal procedures and immorality in men's lives and homes. Soon he numbered in his flock the most respectable inhabitants of Florence.

In 1492 Lorenzo, attacked by a violent fit of the gout, sent for Savonarola. Up to that time the pious preacher had refused to see him. Even when he walked in the gardens of San Marco, Savonarola would never appear.

On his deathbed at his country house at Cariggi, Lorenzo sent for the great preacher. Before he arrived, however, another priest had seen the dying man who had confessed and had received the viaticum. On seeing Savonarola, Lorenzo wished to make further

confession. But the stern Dominican responded that before hearing the confession he must require three things.

“What things, Father?” said Lorenzo.

“First you must have a great and living faith in God’s mercy.”

“I have it, Father,” answered Lorenzo, firmly.

“Secondly, you must restore all your ill-gotten wealth, or require your sons to restore it.”

Lorenzo hesitated a moment, and then gave his assent. Savonarola then stood up and said: “You must restore liberty to Florence.”

Lorenzo turned his face to the wall, and made no answer. Then Savonarola left him, and that night he died. With him the glory of his city passed away.

“In the contradictions of Lorenzo’s character, the variety of his talents, and the paradox of his position, he stands forth as the pattern, the exemplar, of the many-sided age in which he lived. He was a prince of despotic power, yet nominally only one among the citizens of a little medieval city. He was of humble origin, and bore no title, yet he made himself the intimate friend of kings. He was not beyond his age nor above it. He was created by it. His limitations and his qualities were those of his time.”

Six years after the death of Lorenzo, that is on May 23, 1498, Savonarola, after having been tried by a spiritual court, and having offered to support his views by the ordeal of fire, through which he was willing to pass with the Host in his hand, was strangled and then burned in Florence in the presence of a large

multitude, many of whom looked upon him—as many of the world still do—as a saint and a martyr.

The state of Rome at this period well merited the denunciations of a Savonarola. Under Innocent VIII., whose name was most inappropriate to his character, the record is one of perpetual violence. Innocent VIII. was weakly wicked, but after eight years he was succeeded by Rodrigo Borgia, who took the title of Alexander VI., under which name he has been handed down to infamy. He was the richest of the cardinals and at the same time the most depraved in morals, and the most perfidious as a politician. The great object of his life was to make his son, Cæsar Borgia, supreme ruler in Italy. Brave, handsome, talented, powerful in person and determined in character, this son was a worthy ally of his father, for as a contemporary has recorded, “There is nothing so wicked and so criminal as not to be done publicly in Rome and in the house of the pope.” Intrigues with the French king made Cæsar duke of Valentinois in France. By deeds of treachery and tyranny he seized upon the duchy of Urbino and numerous small principalities, and was menacing Bologna, Sienna, and Florence when, in 1503, he and his father drank, by mistake, poison prepared for their guests. The pope died and Cæsar’s severe illness gave to his enemies, among whom was the new pope, Julius II., an advantage which they quickly improved. He was imprisoned in Spain, but finally escaped only to fall in the war against Castile.

Lorenzo de’ Medici left three sons, one of whom, when fourteen years of age, was made a cardinal, and in 1513—fifteen years after his father’s death—became

Pope Leo X., whose sale of indulgences, as a means of raising money for architectural embellishments in the Eternal City, hastened the outbreak of the Reformation.

Piero, the eldest of these sons, made himself hated and despised by the Florentines, notwithstanding their devotion to the memory of his great father. After an absence from Florence, during which he had weakly yielded to the French king, Charles VIII., important fortresses in Tuscan territory, he returned to find guards at the door of his palace, and was refused admission. Surprised at this state of things, he tried to awaken popular sympathy, but found no response. The friends of liberty, excited by the exhortations of Savonarola, took up arms. Their number constantly increased and the Medici, terrified, fled from the city, thus losing a sovereignty which their family had exercised for sixty years.

The invasion of the French under Charles VIII., in 1494, spread terror from one extremity of the country to the other. Italy found herself surrounded on all sides by powers which had suddenly become gigantic. While Charles pretended to be the legitimate heir of the kingdom of Naples, Louis XII., who succeeded him, called himself heir to the duchy of Milan. Maximilian of Germany claimed prerogatives in Italy which no emperor had pretended since the death of Frederick II., in 1250. The Swiss had learned that at the foot of their mountains there lay rich and feeble cities which they might pillage, and finally Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain announced their intention of defending the bastard branch of Aragon which reigned

at Naples. In 1499 Louis XII. sent a powerful army into Italy, subduing Genoa, Milan, and all Lombardy, but on his return to France, the Italians, with a company of Swiss allies, again rallied under Ludovico Sforza of Milan. Louis also enlisting the services of ten thousand Swiss confronted the Italians at Novara, and the Swiss, hesitating to attack each other, brought about a compromise dishonorable to all concerned. After assuring the success of the French king, they basely seized Belinzona, which they ever afterward retained. After his experience in the North, Louis anticipated an easy conquest of Naples. Here again perfidy won the day, for Ferdinand of Spain, false to his promises to King Frederick, landed a Spanish army in the kingdom under his great general, Gonzalvo de Cordova, and made a secret arrangement with Louis to divide the spoil. The jealous rulers could not, however, come to an understanding, and the French army, attacked first by pestilence and then by the Spaniards, was entirely destroyed, and in 1504 the kingdom of Naples, like that of Sicily, became a Spanish possession.

Pope Julius II., who came into power at this time, found certain of the cherished possessions of the papal states slipping into the grasp of Venice. The Venetians offered the same tribute and the same submission which the previous owners had given to the church, but declined to give up the territory. Julius then, with his powerful allies, Maximilian and Louis, formed the League of Cambray, and once more Italy was overrun by European armies till the pope in despair turned upon the foreigners and organizing the Holy League,

freed Italy from the yoke of France. It was but a sorry freedom, however, for Swiss, Spaniard, and German in succession were to tyrannize over the unhappy country. From the wars of this period it is a relief to turn to the triumphs of peace and to note briefly the career of the great painter, architect, and sculptor who was patronized by Pope Julius II. and by the two popes of the house of Medici.

Michel Angelo Buonarrotti was a descendant of the ancient family of the counts of Canossa. He was born in 1474 and was preëminent in painting, sculpture, architecture, and poetry. Literary people knew and admired his sonnets, in one of which he suggests that in each unhewn block of marble lies possibly a statue of inestimable worth. Besides his intellectual accomplishments he was a renowned swordsman. His first teacher of drawing in the academy of art founded in Florence by Lorenzo de' Medici, was Ghirlandajo, but by the time he was sixteen he had attained equal repute both in sculpture and in painting, and received a commission which associated him with Leonardo da Vinci, to decorate the state house of Florence with frescoes on subjects from Florentine history. The design was never carried out, but one of the cartoons executed by the young artist remains to us, though not in a state of perfect preservation. Pope Julius II. invited him to Rome to erect for him a splendid mausoleum. The young architect had many rivals who planned to injure him by inducing the pope to give him a commission to decorate the ceiling of the Sistine chapel with frescoes. Michel Angelo had never worked in fresco, and his enemies felt sure that his

execution of this task would destroy his reputation. At first he refused the commission, but at last accepted it and in twenty months finished the work which is one of the wonders of painting. He was then employed to make statues for the tomb of Pope Julius, one of which is the world famous Moses.

At sixty years of age Michel Angelo was commissioned to paint on one vast wall of the Sistine chapel a gigantic fresco of the Last Judgment, a composition which has become one of the great pictures of the world. More than ten years afterward the great architect was persuaded to undertake the continuation of the building of St. Peter's, which had been delayed by political commotions and a confusion of plans; but dying nine years later, in 1565, he did not live long enough to see his own plan completely executed, and many alterations were made in it after he was gone.

It was in the time of Pope Clement VII., 1527, that Charles V., made war upon the papacy. He had been greatly irritated by a league made by various Italian princes to oppose his pretensions to Italian territory. To his great surprise, the pope joined this Italian federation, and in 1527, the Constable de Bourbon, deserting the French king, Francis I., and carrying his sword over to the emperor, led a mixed force of forty thousand German and Spanish soldiers against Rome. The pope and his cardinals took refuge in the stronghold of St. Angelo, and at the first assault the Constable, who was directing the attack in person, was killed by a bullet fired from an arquebus by the famous jeweler and sculptor, Benvenuto Cellini.

The death of the Constable enraged his soldiers;

not only did they manfully continue their attack upon the castle, but the city itself, the capital of Christendom, was abandoned to a pillage unparalleled in its history. The pope at last made peace on most humiliating terms. Before the emperor's troops were withdrawn the plague broke out among them. Of the forty thousand soldiers brought by the Constable de Bourbon, only ten thousand remained alive, and they were anxious to leave the city. The pope, who was to be held in captivity until the stipulations on his part were complied with, was released after four months.

Charles V., after his reconciliation with Clement VII., had raised the Medici in Florence to the standard of princes. Florence was no longer a republic, but took her place among principalities as a grand duchy. Two women of the house of Medici married kings of France. Catherine, the daughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent, wedded Francis I.; and subsequently Marie, daughter of the Grand Duke Francis, became the second wife of Henry IV. In the time of Louis XVI. (nearly two hundred years after this period) the aristocratic religious community of Remiremont, which insisted that every lady who entered the order must show sixteen unblemished quarterings, refused to receive a princess of Orleans on the ground that her pedigree had been impaired by these marriages with a family connected with trade; for undoubtedly the Medici kept up their relations with the commercial world long after they had risen to political importance.

After the extinction of a republic or a nominally republican form of government in Florence, there was

no longer a rallying point for republican feeling in Italy. The policy of the German emperors was to make Italian cities with their dependencies into duchies. Thus Montferrat became a duchy and was given to Gonzaga of Mantua as a fief of the empire; many years later it was given over to the duke of Savoy. Genoa, after the French had retained it for twenty-nine years, found a deliverer in Andrea Doria. In Southern Italy, Philip II., of Spain, inherited the kingdom of Naples from Charles V., emperor of Germany and king of Spain, his father, and by a treaty made in 1559 between Philip and Henry II., of France, both monarchs agreed to renounce all claims to Piedmont, which was given back to its legitimate ruler, Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy.

During the latter half of the sixteenth century the prosperity of Italy was increased by a long peace, during which time great artists and world-famous poets flourished, almost bringing back to Italy her ancient glory. But in the middle of the next century the war of the Spanish Succession broke out and in this war, which involved France, Austria, Spain, and England, Italy was again ravaged by armies and became the prey of the spoiler.

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

The Renaissance in Europe. Dante's influence felt in a growing love for poetry. Petrarch, Giotto, and Boccaccio. Florence cut off from the sea by Pisa. A French garrison in the citadel; Boucicault's treachery destroys the young Visconti; he opens the gates to the Florentines. Pisa loses commerce and population. Schism of the popes; Ladislaus of Naples

with his captain, Sforza, captures Rome and threatens other cities. The Florentines take Rome and make peace with Ladislaus; threatened by Filippo Maria Visconti, whose general, Francesco Carmagnola, had conquered Lombardy; Florence appeals to Venice; Venice sends Carmagnola against the enemy; he succeeds, then fails, is tortured and executed by the Venetians. Rise of the Medici in Florence. Cosimo's interest in art and letters; exiled by Rinaldo Albizzi, who suffered the same fate later. Francesco Sforza becomes duke of Milan. Pope Nicholas V. restores order in Rome and destroys democracy. Fall of Constantinople, 1453. Death of Cosimo, 1464. Lorenzo de' Medici rules until 1492. Savonarola. The Borgias in Rome. The Medici expelled from Florence. Invasions of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. The Spaniards seize the Two Sicilies. Pope Julius II. and Michel Angelo. Charles V. invades Italy.

1. What great revival marked the fifteenth century in Europe?
2. How had the love of beauty already adorned the Italian cities?
3. How was the influence of poetry being felt at this time?
4. How did Florence at length get control of Pisa, and with what result?
5. How did the schism of the popes encourage Ladislaus of Naples?
6. Why did the Florentines make war against him?
7. What new danger then threatened them?
8. What induced Venice to defend Lombardy?
9. Describe the career of Francesco Carmagnola.
10. Who was the first illustrious member of the Medici family, and why?
11. What was the advice given him by his father?
12. Why did Cosimo suffer exile?
13. Describe the struggles of Sforza with the Milanese.
14. How did Pope Nicholas V. establish his supremacy in Rome?
15. What was the result of the fall of Constantinople?
16. What influence had the merchant princes of Florence?
17. Who was Luca Pitti?
18. Give the chief events in the early life of Lorenzo de' Medici.
19. With what political difficulties did he have to contend?
20. Describe his meeting with Savonarola.
21. What was the mission and the fate of Savonarola?
22. Describe the career of the Borgias.
23. Why did the Medici lose favor in Florence?
24. How did Italy suffer from Charles VIII. and Louis XII.?

25. How did the Two Sicilies become a Spanish kingdom?
 26. What was the League of Cambray? 27. Give an account
 of Michel Angelo. 28. What was the result of the invasion
 of Charles V.?

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THE MAKERS
OF
MODERN ITALY

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HISTORY AND POLITICAL
ECONOMY

PART III.

CHAPTER I

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI

AUSTRIAN DOMINATION IN ITALY

In each of the great and well-defined periods into which the history of western Europe naturally divides itself, it is not difficult to find some leading idea, some guiding principle, some dominant maxim of statesmanship, or some all-powerful institution which may serve to give a distinguishing characteristic to the age, and in relation to which particular events may be most conveniently regarded. By keeping this dominant principle or institution constantly in mind, the student is enabled to see in the scattered and apparently miscellaneous events of a particular period a consistency and coherence which they may sometimes seem to lack. By following this method much is gained. Not only is the attention of the student directed to the broader and more important movements of the time, but particular events fall naturally into their true perspective. Thus in the centuries which succeeded the downfall of the older Roman empire, European politics were dominated by the Holy Catholic Church; while the social life of the peoples was molded under the all-absorbing institution of feudalism—a system which was itself the product of the clash of Roman and Teutonic institutions. As we approach the close of the

Middle Ages we find ourselves still in the presence, still to a large extent under the dominating influence, of these great medieval institutions. But they are no longer in the plenitude of power. Their meridian is passed; their commanding influence is undermined; new forces are pushing their way to the front. But even in their decay they are still the axis round which the politics and social life of western Europe continue to revolve. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, the twofold unity of Church and Empire is definitely broken up, and from its ruins there emerge independent and more or less consolidated nations, owning no allegiance to the emperor, and very little to the pope. For the complete accomplishment of this development two things were necessary: the destruction of the disruptive power of the great feudal vassals, and the consolidation of the power of the national monarchies.

In the attainment of national unity some states were, I need not say, very much ahead of others. England, for example, compassed the realization of her national identity as early as the thirteenth century; France and Spain not until the sixteenth; while other states, like Germany and Italy, have reached the same goal only within the last few years. Speaking generally, however, the national monarchies of western Europe attained their zenith toward the end of the seventeenth century. It was then that Louis XIV. could say with almost literal truth, *L'état c'est moi*. And what was true of France was true in less degree of other European states. The monarchy absorbed into itself all the powers of the state. The ascendancy

of the great vassals had been utterly broken through the active assistance, or the passive acquiescence, of the Commons; and the crown, having absorbed the powers of the aristocracy, could without difficulty overcome the feeble resistance of the third estate. Representative institutions either, as in Spain, lost all vitality or, as in France, were entirely swept away. Thus Europe was prepared for what has been called with much felicity the "administrative absolutism" of the eighteenth century. And while monarchs like Frederick of Prussia, like Joseph II. of Austria, or Charles III. of Spain, were busy in bestowing on their peoples the blessings of paternal despotism at home, is it possible to define the guiding principle of the international relations of their several states? I think it is. Speaking broadly, continental politics were dominated during this period by two forces: the theory of the balance of power, and the dynastic interests of the individual kings. But the great social and intellectual upheaval at the end of the eighteenth century—an upheaval which found its most striking manifestation in France—wrought a tremendous revolution in the ideas of men, and ultimately in the policies of states. The French Revolution—to make use of a loose but convenient formula—bequeathed to the nineteenth century two great dominating ideas: the idea of the rights of man as man, and the idea of the rights of nationalities as nationalities. The working of these forces in the present century has indeed often been obscured—at times so much obscured that some have doubted their existence—but in the main it is true to say that the one has controlled the internal policy,

while the other has given the determining bias to the external relations of the several European states. When the philosophic historian of the future comes to write the history of the nineteenth century he will, it may be supposed, mark as the distinguishing characteristics of this epoch the acquisition of supreme power by the many for the government of all, and the consolidation of kindred and contiguous states, or rather bundles of states, on the basis of the vital principle of *nationality*.

With the former development I have for the present no concern. It is the purpose of these lectures to examine in such detail as time may allow the most romantic, if not the most important and most striking, exemplification of the latter principle.

With the great work of Italian unification four names will to all time be connected in inseparable association. For the moment I do not speak of the inspiration which the makers of modern Italy derived from the works of Dante and Alfieri, of d'Azeglio and Rossetti and Manzoni. The extent of their influence defies all common computation. It is my purpose to speak of the work of the men of action, of Mazzini, of Cavour, of Garibaldi; and not least of him whose coolness and courage, whose temperate zeal and whose unswerving honesty, whose clearness of vision and unfailing common sense, gave consistency and coherence to the life-work of them all. I speak, of course, of Victor Emmanuel, the first king of United Italy.

And first, we must ask, what was the material upon which these great builders had to work? What was the condition of Italy, political and social, after the

Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars in the opening years of the present century? For long centuries the idea of Italian unity had been buried with the past; even the name of Italy had almost entirely ceased to be whispered by man. In the Middle Ages great parts were played on the stage of European politics by the city states of Italy, by Venice and Genoa, by Milan and Florence, by Pisa and by Rome. But of Italy as a whole, as a nation, we hear and know nothing; it did not exist. "Since the fall of the Roman empire (if even before it) there never has been a time," as Mr. Forsyth says with almost brutal truth, "when Italy could be called a nation any more than a stack of timber can be called a ship." As we approach more modern times, even the republics disappear; the city states are absorbed into the hands of members of one or other of the two great families which so long controlled the fortunes of that "distressful country." Italy becomes simply the battleground of contending nations and intriguing dynasties. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, indeed, Italy enjoyed an unusual calm. It was the calm, however, not of quiet, placid happiness, but of a miserable inertia, of a hopeless torpidity of soul. Cut up into petty principalities for the cadets of the houses of Hapsburg and of Bourbon, Italy lay beneath their yoke hopeless, emotionless, priest-ridden, and benumbed.

In the last years of the century this repose was rudely interrupted by the Napoleonic occupation. To Italy Napoleon went in name, and to some extent in fact, as a deliverer. Eventually, it is true, he imposed upon Italy a yoke heavier, it may be, than the yoke of

Bourbon or of Hapsburg whom he had displaced, but a yoke not without its salutary effects. To the Italian, as to the other disordered princedoms of continental Europe, Napoleon was no doubt a scourge, a very disagreeable scourge, but on the whole a healthy one. For the corrupted courts which he invaded, for the petty thrones he overturned, it is impossible to feel one iota of respect, one scrap of sympathetic regret. In Italy, at any rate, he did nothing but good. He trampled under foot municipal jealousies and local prejudices; he reduced the political divisions of the country from fifteen to three; he constructed splendid roads and bridges—unifying forces of no mean significance. Before his overthrow he had rudely broken up the “ancient fixity of confusions which passed for government, and had aroused no insignificant forces of new social life. The feudal tenure of land, and with it something of the feudal structure of society, had passed away. The French civil code, and a criminal code based upon that of France, had taken the place of a thousand conflicting customs and jurisdictions. Taxation had been made, if not light, at least equitable and simple. Justice was regular, and the same for baron and peasant. Brigandage had been extinguished, and for the first time in many centuries the presence of a rational and uniform administration was felt over the greater part of Italy.”¹ At his approach, too, the Jesuits had once more fled, education was placed on a reasonable basis, and the Italians, roused from their frivolous and lounging habits, were taught to think and act like men. But

¹ C. A. Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, vol. ii, p. 178.

above all, Napoleon, little as he knew it, little as the Italians realized it at the time, was the first for centuries to evoke if not to create a sense, a consciousness of unity, of nationality, in Italy. As Mazzini himself has said of the Napoleonic occupation: "The intellectual rise, the rapid increase of national prosperity, the burst of fraternization . . . are facts, especially in the period 1805-13, irrevocably committed to history. Notwithstanding our dependence on the French empire, under political despotism and despite war, the feeling of nationality specially incorporated in our brave army elevated our souls, picturing in the distance the oneness of Italy, the object of all our efforts."

But for the moment the good seed was choked by the Restoration of 1815. At that time, as Prince Metternich with cynical truth observed, Italy was merely a geographical expression. It was the purpose of the Viennese diplomatists to restore, as far as might be, the *status quo ante* Revolution. They hoped to renew in Italy the dynastic *morcellement* of the eighteenth century. The states were once more parceled out among the members of the Bourbon or the Hapsburg house. The emperor of Austria, Francis II., helped himself to Lombardy and Venice; Marie Louise, an Austrian archduchess, and sometime consort of the great Napoleon, was installed in the Duchy of Parma; Tuscany was given to Ferdinand III., also of the Austrian house, and Modena to his son Francis; Pius VII. reëntered upon the temporal domains of the papacy, while the Bourbons were restored in the person of Ferdinand I. to the throne of Naples and Sicily.

The little republic of San Marino, looking sadly forth over the waters of the Adriatic, alone recalled the Italy of the Middle Age—an Italy divided but independent.

Looking, however, no longer to the past but to the future, the most interesting feature of the Restoration still remains to be noticed. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the dukes of Savoy had acquired Piedmont, and thus succeeded in straddling the Alps. Their geographical position, as the Prince de Ligne has cynically said, did not permit them to behave like honest men. Consequently, by rather tortuous but in the main successful diplomacy, they managed in the eighteenth century to add the royal crown of Sardinia to the ducal crowns of Piedmont and Savoy; and never was a European war concluded, however remote the principal combatants might be, but the house of Savoy was able to acquire several of the towns of Lombardy, stripping it, as the saying goes, like an artichoke, leaf by leaf. Their position was still further strengthened in 1815 by the acquisition of the annihilated republic of Genoa. Such was the Italy of 1815, little better, if at all, than Metternich's "geographical expression." But for all that the Italy of 1815 was not the Italy of the ante-Napoleonic days. Strive as they might, the diplomatists of Vienna could not set back the hands of time, nor even "make things seem as though they had not been." They might, it is true, put back an Austrian here, a Bourbon there; they might annihilate ancient republics and carve out modern dukedoms; they might mark out with jealous care dividing lines which had been erased, and they

might again set up boundaries which had been broken down; but they could not erase from the minds of the Italian people the newly awakened recollection of their ancient fame; they could not stifle, strive as they might, their newly conceived but none the less passionate longing for the realization of their national identity. I do not know where you will find more accurate or more eloquent expression of this feeling than in the letter addressed, thirty years afterward, by Mazzini nominally to Sir James Graham, really to the English people.

“There are over there (in Lombardy) from four to five millions of human creatures gifted with an immortal soul, with powerful faculties, with ardent and generous passions; with aspirations toward free agency, toward the ideal which their fathers had a glimpse of, which nature and tradition point out to them; toward a national union with other millions of brother souls in order to attain it; from four to five millions of men desiring only to advance under the eye of God, their only master, toward the accomplishment of a social task which they have in common with sixteen or seventeen millions of other men, speaking the same language, treading the same earth, cradled in their infancy in the same maternal songs, strengthened in their youth by the same sun, inspired by the same memories, the same sources of literary genius. Country, liberty, brotherhood, all are wrested from them; their faculties are mutilated, curbed, chained, within a narrow circle traced for them by men who are strangers to their tendencies, to their wants, to their wishes; their tradition is broken under the cane of an

Austrian corporal; their immortal soul feudatory to the stupid caprices of a man seated on a throne at Vienna, to the caprices of the Tyrolese agents; and you go on indifferent, coolly inquiring if these men be subject to this or that tariff, if the bread that they eat costs them a halfpenny more or less! That tariff, whatever it is, is too high; it is not *they* who have had the ordering of it; that bread, dear or not, is moistened with tears, for it is the bread of slaves."

And indeed at that moment the Italian people were little better than slaves beneath the Austrian yoke. For it was Metternich who maintained the petty despots on their thrones, and dictated the policy which they were bound to carry out. The Bourbon princes and the Austrian archdukes nominally reigned in their several principalities; in reality they were simply puppets, the strings of which were pulled invariably from Vienna. The history of the Neapolitan insurrection of 1821 will serve to illustrate the extent to which an Austrian domination was imposed even upon the nominally independent states of Italy. The Bourbon Ferdinand of Naples had, on his restoration in 1815, solemnly pledged his word that he would respect the constitution drawn up for Sicily by Lord William Bentinck in 1812. In 1816, at the bidding of Prince Metternich, that constitution was annulled, lest the example of Sicily might serve as a vicious model for the other princedoms of Italy. In 1820 a revolution broke out in Spain, and the insurgents succeeded in extorting from the king a liberal constitution. The excitement spread to southern Italy. The Neapolitan people, supported by the army, demanded from their

king a constitution on the model of that which had been conceded in Spain. The king granted the demands of the insurgents with apparent eagerness, fervently protesting his gratitude to God, who had permitted him in his old age to do a great good to his kingdom. Some days later the concession was ratified in the most solemn manner. The king having heard mass, approached the altar, and in presence of the court and ministers took his oath to the constitution. Then fixing his eyes upon the cross, he cried: "Omnipotent God, who with infinite penetration lookest into the heart and into the future, if I lie, or if one day I should be faithless to my oath, do Thou at this moment annihilate me." The king having kissed the Gospel, the oath was taken by his sons, and the new constitution was publicly proclaimed.

Meanwhile Prince Metternich and his copartners in the Holy Alliance had been looking on with great uneasiness at the development of events in southern Italy. It was no part of his policy to permit his vassal princes to make liberal concessions to their own subjects, nor indeed to take action in any way without his sanction. Not merely in Naples, but in many other states, there had already been manifestations of impatience at the policy of simple restoration which had been enunciated at the Congress of Vienna. The allied monarchs took alarm and assembled in conference, first at Troppau in Bohemia, and afterward at Laybach. For this conference King Ferdinand set out in December, 1820, having once more publicly announced his adherence to the constitution to which he had sworn with such solemnity. Then comes the dénoue-

ment of this blasphemous farce. At Troppau and Laybach absolutist sentiments were completely dominant. The English foreign minister—the much maligned Lord Castlereagh—was alone found to protest against the atrocious doctrine that a change of government in any state gave the allied powers the right to interfere—a doctrine which, as a recent historian has truly said, “would have empowered the czar to throw the armies of a coalition upon London if the reform bill had been carried by force.” As Lord Castlereagh pointed out to the powers with admirable explicitness, England could never recognize the right of the allied sovereigns to interfere in the internal affairs of the several states. But despite this protest, to Austria was committed the work of quelling the liberal movement in southern Italy. King Ferdinand had no sooner got beyond the frontier of his own unhappy kingdom than he wrote to his brother sovereigns protesting that the concessions had been wrung from him by force, and that all his recent acts were null and void. The Austrian troops marched on Naples; the Neapolitan troops ran away; the king was restored; the constitution was torn up; and the insurgent leaders were either flung into dungeons or promptly hanged. Such was the way in which Prince Metternich galled the Italian peoples with the Austrian yoke from end to end of Italy.

As it was in Naples so it was even in Piedmont, a state less dependent than any other on the nod of Metternich. When the Austrian troops had marched on Naples, the liberals of Piedmont, conceiving that the moment had arrived for striking a blow in the

cause of Italian independence, united with the malcontents of Lombardy with the object of flinging themselves upon the rear of the Austrian army. In the northern movement, though it was the work in large measure of the Carbonari, there was nothing of hostility toward the Sardinian monarchy. "Our hearts are faithful to the king, but we wish to deliver him from perfidious counsels. War against Austria; a constitution like that granted in Spain; such are the wishes of the people." But the king Victor Emmanuel, though honestly inclined to concession in a liberal sense, was personally too deeply committed to Prince Metternich and the Austrian policy. In extreme bitterness of soul he laid down his scepter in favor of his brother, Charles Felix. Meanwhile the northern insurrection hopelessly miscarried; the leaders were divided; Charles Felix was away; one party was inclined to pass him over in favor of his cousin, Charles Albert, Prince of Savoy-Carignano; another was faithful to the legal king. And while the leaders disputed, their followers were paralyzed. The whole movement ended in complete collapse. The Austrian yoke was reimposed on Lombardy with tenfold rigor; the dungeons were crammed with prisoners; every movement, every action of an Italian native was watched with jealous vigilance, and tortures were applied to extort from the sufferers even the unspoken wishes of the heart. Who can wonder that in those dark days a dull despair fell even on the bravest of Italian patriots? But yet not on all.

Italia ! when thy name was but a name,
When to desire thee was a vain desire,
When to achieve thee was impossible,

When to love thee was madness, when to live
For thee was the extravagance of fools,
When to die for thee was to fling away
Life for a shadow—in those darkest days
Were some who never swerved, who lived, and strove,
And suffered for thee, and attained their end !

Of these brave spirits who, in the dark days before 1848, looked on the sufferings and degradation of their native land, in bitterness of soul indeed, but still with passionate and steadfast hope, there was none so sad and yet so steadfast, there was none filled with such lofty purpose and such pure enthusiasm as Joseph Mazzini.

Born at Genoa in 1805, Mazzini, like Cavour and Garibaldi, was a Sardinian subject. Even in childhood he was impressed with the misery and degradation of his country. In his early school-days, as throughout his life, it was his morbid fancy to wear nothing but black. "In the midst of the noisy tumultuous life of the scholars around me I was," he tells us, "somber and absorbed, and appeared like one suddenly grown old. I childishly determined to dress always in black, fancying myself in mourning for my country." It was after the failure of 1821 that Mazzini first became conscious of the mission of his life. While walking one Sunday with his mother and a friend in the streets of Genoa, they were addressed, he tells us in his most interesting autobiography, by a "tall black-bearded man with a severe and energetic countenance, and a fiery glance that I have never since forgotten. He held out a handkerchief toward us, merely saying, 'For the refugees of Italy.' " The incident,

simple as it was, made a profound impression on Mazzini's ardent soul. "The idea of an existing wrong in my own country against which it was a duty to struggle, and the thought that I too must bear my part in that struggle, flashed before my mind on that day for the first time, never again to leave me. The remembrance of those refugees, many of whom became my friends in after life, pursued me wherever I went by day and mingled with my dreams by night. I would have given I know not what to follow them. I began collecting names and facts, and studied as best I might the records of that heroic struggle, seeking to fathom the causes of its failure."

Shortly after the completion of his university career Mazzini joined the ranks of the Carbonari, and thus definitely embarked on a career of political agitation. To him, as to many men of delicate perceptions and refined imagination, such a step was a great sacrifice. He himself spoke of it in after years as his "first great sacrifice." He had looked forward from his childhood to a literary career. "A thousand visions of historical dramas and romances floated before my mental eye—artistic images that caressed my spirit as visions of gentle maidens soothe the soul of the lonely-hearted. The natural bias of my mind was very different from that which has been forced upon me by the times in which I have lived and the shame of our degradation." But Mazzini saw, clearly enough, that the literary issues then at stake, as between the Classicists and Romanticists, important as they seemed, must be postponed to the solution of the vital political problem. "Without a country and without liberty we might per-

haps produce some prophets of art, but no *vital* art. Therefore it was better for us to consecrate our lives to the solution of the problem, Are we to have a country? and turn at once to the political question. If we were successful, the art of Italy would bloom and flourish over our graves."

Were the Italians to have a country? That was the problem to the solution of which Mazzini consecrated his life. We may decline—I think we must decline—to approve the means by which Mazzini was compelled at first to work; we may loathe, as he loathed, the midnight machinations of secret societies like the Carbonari; we may despise the republican fanaticism by which his later work was unhappily disfigured, but we can never question, if we know anything of the man himself, his single-minded patriotism, or the lofty and sustained elevation of his moral teaching. And you must realize, if you would judge him fairly, the conditions under which he had to work.

"It is death
To speak the very name of Italy
To this Italian people."

What wonder, then, that patriotism, which might under happier conditions have found a vent in constitutional agitation, was forced into unhealthy subterranean channels? No one ever despised or hated such methods more than Mazzini himself. But for the moment he was compelled to work with such tools as were at his command. Shortly after the July revolution of 1830, Mazzini, having been entrapped by a government spy into the performance of some trifling commission for the Carbonari, was arrested and im-

prisoned in the fortress of Savona on the western Riviera. "The government was not fond," so his father was informed, "of young men of talent, the subject of whose musings was unknown to them." After six months' imprisonment Mazzini was acquitted of conspiracy, but was nevertheless exiled from Italy.

Meanwhile the events of the "glorious days of July," as they are grandiloquently termed, had not been without their influence in his native land. Under the influence of the Carbonari, insurrections simultaneously broke out in Modena, in Bologna, and in other parts of the papal states. The new pope, Gregory XVI., elected to the papal throne in the midst of the insurrectionary confusion, and alarmed by the declaration of the insurgents that the temporal dominion was at an end, invoked the aid of Austria. Metternich, nothing loath, marched an army into Italy; the States of the Church were occupied and order was restored. Jealous of Austria's exclusive interference, the French government despatched a force into Italy and occupied Ancona. The rival forces continued to confront each other in Italy for several years, but without further results of any kind.

Early in the same year, 1831, Charles Felix had been succeeded on the Sardinian throne by his cousin Charles Albert, a man who in earlier days had coquetted with the Carbonari movement. Mazzini, who was in exile at Marseilles, at once addressed to him his memorable "letter to the king." "The people," it declared, "are no longer to be quieted by a few concessions. They seek the recognition of those rights

of humanity which have been withheld from them for ages. They demand laws and liberty, independence and union. Divided, dismembered, and oppressed, they have neither name nor country. They have heard themselves stigmatized by the foreigner as a helot nation. They have seen free men visit their country and declare it the land of the dead. They have drained the cup of slavery to the dregs, but they have sworn never to fill it again." Let the king champion the cause not merely of Piedmont, but of Italy. "All Italy waits for one word—one only—to make herself yours. Proffer this word to her. Place yourself at the head of the nation and write on your banner: 'Union, Liberty, Independence.' Proclaim the liberty of thought. Declare yourself the vindicator, the interpreter of popular rights, the regenerator of all Italy. Liberate her from the barbarians. Build up the future; give your name to a century; begin a new era from your day. . . . Select the way that accords with the desire of the nation; maintain it unalterably; be firm and await your time; you have the victory in your hands. Sire, on this condition we bind ourselves round you, we proffer you our lives, we will lead to your banner the little states of Italy. We will paint to our brothers the advantages that are born of union; we will promote national subscriptions, patriotic gifts; we will preach the word that creates armies. . . . Unite us, Sire, and we shall conquer."

To this passionate appeal the king was deaf; his only answer was an order that if Mazzini attempted to cross the frontier into Italy he should be instantly arrested. But though the king was deaf, the people

listened, and flocked in their thousands to join the association which Mazzini had lately founded. This was the famous association of "Young Italy." Ever since his imprisonment at Savona, Mazzini had been pondering over a scheme for establishing an association which should take the place of the secret societies like the Carbonari. He disliked their methods and mistrusted their aims. Their creed was purely negative; they were the sworn foes of tyranny, the determined opponents of the existing régime in Italy. That régime they were resolved to overthrow; but they looked no farther. In fine, they had no constructive policy. This lack of an inspiring creed, a vivifying faith, Mazzini sought to supply in his association of Young Italy. The Carbonari movement had hopelessly failed, as it deserved to fail, though not perhaps for the particular reasons to which Mazzini attributed its failure. To Mazzini's thinking it had leaned too much on the support of the educated, influential classes. "Revolutions," he says, "must be made by the people and for the people. This is our word, it sums up our whole doctrine; it is our science, our religion, our heart's affection." But the Carbonari were not only too aristocratic, they lacked the machinery for simultaneous and concerted action, and concert and simultaneity are of the essence of successful revolution. They had no program, no faith, no lofty ideal. Thus the first duty of the new association was to declare war on the existing idolatry of material interests; to convince the Italian people that "the sole path to victory was through sacrifice, constancy in sacrifice." They must begin with the education of

the people. "Italy was materialist, Machiavellian, believing in the initiative of France, and seeking rather to emancipate and ameliorate the condition of the separate states than to constitute herself a nation. The country was regardless of high principles, and ready to accept any form of government, any mode of assistance, or any man brought forward with a promise of relieving her immediate sufferings. On my side I believed . . . that the great problem of the day was a religious problem." Here you see at once the strength and the weakness of the man. His passionate ardor, his unswerving faith, his lofty idealism—an idealism which revolted from the use of means other than those which he himself selected. It was on these lines that Mazzini drew up the statutes of the new association. "Young Italy is a brotherhood of Italians who believe in a law of progress and duty and are convinced that Italy is destined to become one nation. . . . They join this association in the firm intent of consecrating both thought and action to the great aim of reconstructing Italy as one independent sovereign nation of free men and equals." The means by which the end was to be attained—we may smile at the collocation—were "education and insurrection, to be adopted simultaneously."

The expulsion of the hated Austrians was the first prerequisite. Since it was impossible to avoid a war, bloody and inexorable, the sooner it was attempted the better. Such a war must be waged by Italians and for Italy. No reliance must be placed on foreign governments or on the efforts of diplomacy. All thoughts of federalism, of independence without unity,

must be laid aside. "Federalism would cancel the great mission of Italy in the world." Young Italy, therefore, is unitarian. "Never," said Mazzini to his followers, "never rise in any other name than that of Italy and of all Italy." Mazzini himself was by conviction a stern republican, and the members of Young Italy were sworn to educate the Italian people in that doctrine. But there was to be no forcing of the deliberate conviction of the people. The ultimate form of government, when once unity had been achieved, was to be left to their own deliberate choice. The republicanism of Mazzini was of the truly liberal sort. "We shall," say the statutes, "we shall bow the head and accept any form of government chosen by universal suffrage, because it is the duty of individual opinion to give way before the voice of the nation." Such, in rough, imperfect outline, was the political program of Mazzini, carefully elaborated in the statutes of Young Italy. You will find those statutes in the collected edition of his works.

The effect produced by these propaganda was immediate and profound. "From student to student, from youth to youth, confraternity extended with unexampled rapidity, and the same hands that smuggled the paper into Italy brought back such a multitude of names and adhesions as to astonish the little band of fellow-exiles who had undertaken with Mazzini the labor and the risk of the publication. The new association quickly became dominant from end to end of Italy. "It was," says Mazzini, "the triumph of *principles*; the bare fact that in so short a space of time a handful of young men, themselves sprung from the

people, unknown, without means, . . . found themselves thus rapidly at the head of an association sufficiently powerful to concentrate against it the alarmed persecution of seven governments is, I think, in itself enough to show that the banner they had raised was the banner of truth." The "alarmed persecution of governments" was no empty phrase. In August, 1832, Mazzini was decreed an exile from France, though for a whole year or more he continued in Marseilles, eluding the vigilance of the French police. In 1833 he went to Switzerland, whence he took part in the ill-starred and abortive expedition into Savoy. In 1836 even the Swiss government was prevailed upon to deny him further hospitality, and it was not till the following year that he found a home in the only European state which has never refused a home to political exiles. In 1837 he settled in England, which, as he himself has written, "became to me almost as a second country, and in which I found the lasting consolation of affection in a life embittered by delusions and destitute of all joy." From England he continued, amid the trials of deepening poverty, to direct the affairs of his association. But great as was his influence, even in exile, his countrymen were by no means unanimous in the acceptance of his views.

Besides those whom we may term the Mazzinisti there were two other influential parties which, while sharing to the full Mazzini's longing for the realization of Italian unity, sought to attain it by very different means. Of the party which began to look to Piedmont as the destined champion of Italian independence I shall have more to say in my next lecture. The

other great party, the neo-Guelphs—at this time under the leadership of Gioberti—looked to the papacy to put itself at the head of the national insurrection, and for a moment it seemed as though their hopes might not be altogether ill-founded. In 1846 the old pope Gregory XVI. died, and Pio Nono was elected to succeed him. He began his pontificate by the issue of an amnesty, and the inauguration of some long-delayed reforms. The neo-Guelphs jumped to the conclusion that the millennium had already dawned, and hailed the unhappy pontiff as the messiah of Italian freedom. “Seldom,” as a modern critic has well said, “has history shown a more curious complication of false positions and inextricable dilemmas. . . . The new pope took from the first a lofty view of his spiritual prerogative, but began his reign without a definite temporal policy. . . . He promised reforms, and was rewarded by calculated acclamations.”¹ Mazzini had as little liking for popes as for kings; but never losing sight for a moment of the great end he had in view, he addressed to the new pope a letter pointing out to him the great mission which he might fulfil. He did win a fleeting popularity by protesting against the Austrian occupation of Ferrara. But his zeal for internal reform speedily evaporated, if indeed it had ever existed outside the heated imagination of the neo-Guelphic party. In Tuscany, however, and in Piedmont, considerable administrative reforms were carried out by the ruling princes, to the immense delight of their peoples, but to the infinite chagrin of Metternich. King Ferdinand of Naples, the notorious Bomba, was almost alone in

¹ F. H. W. Myers, *Essay on Mazzini*.

his obstinate refusal to grant any sort of concession to his people.

But every day the irritation was growing, every day the determination of all classes of Italians to realize the unity, and especially the independence, of their country was becoming fiercer and more intense. The general feeling manifested itself in a hundred ways. The scientific congress at Genoa, the agricultural congress at Casale, were in reality political gatherings under a thin disguise. At the congress at Casale a letter from Charles Albert of Piedmont to the Count of Castegnato was communicated to the assembled delegates. "Austria," wrote the king, "has sent a note to all the powers, in which she declares her wish to retain Ferrara, believing she has a right to it. . . . If Providence sends us a war of Italian independence, I will mount my horse with my sons, I will place myself at the head of an army. . . . What a glorious day it will be in which we can raise the cry of a war for the independence of Italy!" The enthusiasm aroused by this pronouncement was intense; the congress begged the king to place himself at the head of the Italian movement and unsheath at once the sword of independence.

Such, then, was the condition of affairs in Italy on the eve of the revolutionary year. The agitation for reform was universal, when news arrived that caused the idea of mere constitutional reform to be flung aside, and made men realize that the time had come for striking not only at the petty despots in the Italian princedoms, but at the giant powers by whom their despotisms had been so long sustained. In the Febru-

ary of 1848 revolution broke out in Paris; the Orleans dynasty was overthrown, and the second republic was proclaimed. In March the revolutionary fever reached the core of European absolutism. Convulsions took place in Vienna, so fierce that even the mighty Metternich was shaken from his pedestal and driven forth to share the exile of thousands of his former victims.

It seemed, indeed, as though the hour of Italy's deliverance had come. Already insurrection had broken out in Sicily, and even Ferdinand had been obliged to concede a constitution. A month later (11th February, 1848), the Grand Duke of Tuscany followed suit, and in March new constitutions, on a parliamentary basis, were promulgated in Piedmont and in Rome. But the news from Vienna awoke aspirations of a more far-reaching kind. The joyous enthusiasm with which it was received in Italy was simply electric. Before the end of March the Austrians had been compelled to evacuate Milan; Venice had expelled her foreign rulers, and had reëstablished the republic under Daniel Manin; the princes of Modena and Parma, the puppets of Metternich, had fled; while Charles Albert of Piedmont had placed himself at the head of the national movement and flung defiance at the Austrian empire. Tuscany was not long behind. The grand duke himself published a stirring proclamation to the troops he sent to join the other contingents. "Soldiers! the holy cause of the independence of Italy is now to be decided on the fields of Lombardy. Already the citizens of Milan have bought with their blood, and by a heroism the like of which history affords but few examples, their liberty.

Already the Sardinian army moves into the field, led by its magnanimous king. Sons of Italy, heirs of the glory of their ancestors the Tuscans, cannot, must not, remain in shameful ease at such a solemn moment. Fly, then; unite yourselves to the valiant citizens who as volunteers are ranging themselves under one banner—fly to the succor of our Lombard brothers!" Even the wretched Bomba was forced for the moment to simulate adherence to the universal movement. No sooner had the Austrian yoke been flung off than all the northern states—Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Lombardy, and Venice—united themselves with the Sardinian kingdom by universal plebiscite. The union of North Italy under the hegemony of Sardinia, the expulsion of the alien, the beginnings of Italian independence, and even of Italian unity, seemed in an instant to have been achieved.

But the Austrian power was still too strong. Not even the enthusiasm of Garibaldi, nor the ardor of Mazzini, who had hurried back to enroll himself as a volunteer in the Garibaldian legion, could withstand the strategic skill of the veteran Radetsky. Charles Albert was forced to his knees; an armistice was signed, and the Austrian yoke was reimposed once more on the whole of northern Italy. Venice alone held out. In the spring of 1849 Charles Albert again renewed the war; but again he was crushed by Radetsky in the great battle of Novara, on March 23, 1849. On the evening of that fatal day the old king resigned his scepter to his young son, famous to all time as the creator of Italian unity—Victor Emmanuel.

Meanwhile events had been moving fast in Rome.

On the outbreak of the insurrection the pope declared, after much vacillation, that he would not join the national movement against the Austrian power in Italy; at the same time he had placed Count Rossi, a man of liberal sympathies, at the head of affairs in Rome. In November Count Rossi was foully assassinated. He had essayed the hopeless task of adhering to a policy of moderation in times of revolution. The pope in terror fled to Gaeta, where he placed himself under the protection of Ferdinand of Naples. Rome, left without government of any kind, was for the moment a prey to anarchy. But on the 9th of February, 1849, the parliament proclaimed the establishment of the republic. Mazzini, having been elected a member of the Roman Parliament, hurried southward to do his part in organizing the government. His first sight of the sacred city filled his imaginative soul with a new enthusiasm. "Rome," he writes, "was the dream of my young years, the generating idea of my mental conception, the keystone of my intellectual edifice, the religion of my soul; and I entered the city with a deep sense of awe, almost of worship. . . . As I passed through the Porta del Popolo I felt an electric thrill run through me, a spring of new life. I shall never see Rome more, but the memory of her will mingle with my dying thought of God, and of my best beloved; and wheresoever fate may lay my bones, I believe that they will once more know the thrill that ran through me then, on the day when the republican banner shall be planted, in pledge of the unity of our Italy, upon the Vatican and capitol." The dream of the prophet is realized, but only in part. The banner

of Italian unity is floating over Rome to-day, but it is the banner, not of a Mazzinian republic, but of a liberal and well-ordered monarchy.

But the republic of 1849, though short-lived was not inglorious. The Triumvirs, acting with the utmost moderation toward all parties, still labored assiduously to put Rome in a condition to defend herself. The pope, meanwhile, was engaged in ceaseless intrigues for the intervention of some foreign power by whom his authority might be restored. Eventually the task was undertaken, though not avowed, by France. Louis Napoleon, who had recently become president of the French republic, seized the opportunity for conciliating at one stroke the affection of the army and the clericals of France. "It was not," says M. Thiers with brutal frankness, "for the sake of Catholicism, it was not for the sake of the Roman people, that we went to Rome; it was for the sake of France." In face of this new danger the Roman Triumvirate stood firm. But though Oudinot was once repulsed, the Romans could not hold out for long against a siege supported by thirty-five thousand men. On the 3d of July, 1849, Rome fell; the republic was overthrown, and the pope by the arms of France was restored to his temporal power. Venice, under Daniel Manin, was still heroically standing out against the Austrians, but in August Venice too succumbed, and the triumph of Austrian absolutism was complete. Once more the chains of despotism were riveted on the Italian peoples. Once more the timid princes found courage, under the protection of their powerful patron, to creep back to their tottering thrones. But though to all outward

seeming the Austrian rule in Italy was reëstablished in the plenitude of absolute power, yet in reality the system had received a shock from which it never afterward recovered. The drama of Italian unity was hurrying on to a *dénouement* destined to destroy not merely Austrian despotism, but at the same time and not less surely the republican ideal of Mazzini. The consideration of this development for the present I postpone.

Nor is it necessary in this place to dwell on the subsequent career of Mazzini. His life mission, little as he knew it, was already fulfilled. To the further solution of the great problem, the importance of which he had been the first to realize, he could contribute nothing. The work must fall to other hands. The lofty idealism of the prophet must give place to the practical sagacity of the statesman. Mazzini lived indeed to see the consummation of Italian unity. But though the good time came for Italy at last, the manner of its coming was as gall and wormwood to the republican fanatic, wrapped as he was in ever deepening gloom as he saw the long-sought goal attained by the efforts of men he hated, and by methods he despised. The truth is, that there was in Mazzini more of the prophet than the statesman. It was his to inspire the workers with something of his own ardent temper, something of his own sustained and lofty zeal, something of his own enthusiasm—an enthusiasm always generous and pure, though somewhat rigid and confined. But though he had in full measure the brain to conceive, Mazzini had not the hands to execute a great and enduring political work. To my thinking,

indeed, Mazzini is to be accounted great primarily, and above all else in this: that he was in the domain of politics a great moral teacher; that, however mistaken his own methods, however paltry his own immediate or direct achievements, he did set before the statesmen, not of his own time only, nor of his own country only, but of all times and all countries, an ideal, of necessity imperfect, but at least clear of all sordid and self-seeking aim.

And yet, idealist as he was, Mazzini was no mere dreamer of vain dreams; stern in adherence to the republican idea, he was no mere iconoclast, no fulsome preacher to the multitude of rights to be enjoyed without corresponding duties faithfully fulfilled. To him democracy is in no sense the rule of lawless mobs; but as he himself has put it in the noblest definition of democracy ever given to the world, it is the "progress of all through all under the leading of the best and wisest." To him the sole origin of every right was in a duty fulfilled. "If," he says in the preface to his *Duties of Man*, "if you would emancipate yourselves from the arbitrary rule and tyranny of man, you must begin by rightly adoring God. And in the world's great battle between the two great principles of good and evil, you must openly enroll yourselves beneath the banner of the first and ceaselessly combat the second. . . . It was because I saw these two lies—Machiavellism and materialism—too often clothe themselves before your eyes with the seductive fascinations of hopes which only the worship of God and truth can realize, that I thought to warn you by this book. I love you too well either to flatter your passions

or to caress the golden dreams by which others seek to win your favor. My voice may sound too harsh, and I may too severely insist on proclaiming the necessity of virtue and sacrifice; but I know, and you too, untainted by false doctrines and unspoiled by wealth, will soon know also, that the sole origin of every right is in a duty fulfilled." These surely are not the words, these are not the thoughts of a fawning demagogue, but of a pure-minded, God-sent prophet, conscious of a lofty purpose, clear as to his mission, self-devoted to the noble task of rescuing his fellow-countrymen from the degrading yoke of alien tyrants; of emancipating his fellow-men throughout the world from the no less ignoble tyranny of selfish passions and of base desires.

" Wherefore then wast thou
Outlaw in every kingdom of the world
Except in England? England, thank thou God
For that cold shelter that thou gavest him,
For which he blessed thee, giving thee back love
For the long years of scornful disregard!
Was he not branded with all calumny,
Because he dared to teach the naked truth?
Christ's words were not a book for Sabbath-days,
But law of life and judgment of the land;
Not to be chosen, and pieced and dogmatized,
But lived up to, the whole and not a part,
Alive, not dead, one spirit in new forms;
And lived as Christ lived, poor, despised, alone,
Apart with God and working miracles,
Not on the waves and winds, but on the wills
Of men, upon the hearts of multitudes,
The hidden germ of fresh humanities,
Of live confederations yet unborn,

The hidden founts of gathering river floods,
To bear one day the music of his name
Through lands of harvest to the boundless sea."

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What two great institutions made themselves strongly felt during the Middle Ages? 2. At what different periods did the leading states of Europe become distinct nations? 3. What two great ideas did the French Revolution bequeath to the nineteenth century? 4. What was the condition of Italy in the last half of the eighteenth century? 5. What did Italy gain from the rule of Napoleon? 6. How did the Congress of Vienna parcel out Italy in 1815? 7. What feeling was expressed by Mazzini in his letter to Sir James Graham? 8. How was the overthrow of the constitution of Naples carried out by Metternich? 9. What results followed the uprising in Piedmont? 10. Describe Mazzini's early life up to his arrest in 1830. 11. What was the nature of Mazzini's letter to King Charles Albert in 1831? 12. Why did Mazzini have little faith in the Carbonari? 13. What was the creed of "Young Italy"? 14. How did the beginnings of the revolutionary spirit begin to show themselves? 15. Describe the revolution of 1848. 16. How was it crushed by Austria? 17. How were Rome and Mazzini affected by the revolution? 18. What fate soon overtook both Rome and Venice? 19. What was the mission of Mazzini? 20. Give his definition of democracy.

CHAPTER II

CAVOUR

THE LIBERATION OF NORTH ITALY

“To all outward seeming the triumph of Austrian absolutism was once more complete.” Such were the words in which, last time, I summed up the results of the period, the events of which I was endeavoring to trace. Black indeed was the outlook for Italy in 1849, when Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, in the hopefulness of youth, took up the scepter which his father in the disappointment of age had flung aside. The “Year of Revolution,” at one time bright with hope for Italy, had come and gone and had left Italy even more hopeless than before. In northern Italy the Austrian yoke was riveted more firmly than ever on her subject provinces; the vassal princes, the king of the Two Sicilies, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and all the lesser fry, were restored to their wretched principalities, determined to avenge by petty persecution the fright they had sustained the year before. Even Piedmont—the hope of liberal Italy—lay prostrate for the moment under the crushing defeat of Novara. To all seeming the work of thirty years and more had gone for nothing. Italy was no nearer the goal of unity, the goal of independence, than she had been when, in 1815, the Viennese diplomatists had carved out her dukedoms and

parceled out her provinces like so many slices, as the saying goes, of a ripe Dutch cheese. She was still dismembered, still divided, still unfree, given over to a despotism that crushed the body and benumbed the soul. "The pope clutches the soul of the Italian nation; Austria the body whenever it shows signs of life; and on every member of that body is enthroned an absolute prince, viceroy in turn under either of these powers." ¹

And yet was the Italy of 1849 in grim reality the Italy of 1815? Had the efforts of Mazzini and his disciples borne no fruit? Had the blood of thousands of willing martyrs been shed absolutely in vain? We can forgive an Italian of 1849 for thinking that it was so; but we should be hopelessly deceived were we to share the illusion. Look on the contrast for yourselves. The Italians of 1815 were willing slaves. Italy itself seemed to lie prostrate and benumbed. Not a sign of life, not an emotion, seemed to stir her torpid soul. But now Italy had at last awakened from the death-sleep of centuries. The insurrectionary movements of 1821, of 1831, of 1848, proved at least that the Italians were conscious of their degradation, that they had begun to dare to hope. Nay more, their aspirations had become articulate. "They desire," said one of them, "they desire to *live*—to live with all the faculties of their being; to live as God commands; to walk onward with the rest of the world; to have brethren and not spies around them; to have instructors and not masters; to have a home and not a prison" (Mazzini). Most of them had begun to long for free-

¹ Mazzini.

dom, and not a few too long for unity. To say the truth, the desire for unity was far less universal than from the writings of Mazzini you might suppose. Here and there, there were, no doubt, groups of Mazzinianist disciples who could rise above the conception of provincial patriotism, and look beyond to the unification of the whole peninsula; but the universal longing, the pressing need that came home to every one, was not unity but freedom. It was only as they gradually began to realize that the one was practically impossible without the other that the broader conception was entertained. Gradually it was borne in upon them that so long as Austria was supreme in Italy, no permanent concession in the direction of constitutional liberties could be wrung from the wretched despots like King Bomba, who moved only in obedience to the strings which Austria pulled. And thus it was that Neapolitans and Tuscans, Romans and Piedmontese, alike began to realize the truth which Mazzini was constantly enforcing, that a war, a "bloody and inexorable" war, with Austria was the first necessary step toward the permanent acquisition of domestic liberties.

But more than this, the Italians had for a brief moment, in the spring of 1848, felt upon their brows the breath of liberty. For a moment a vision of the glorious future had been revealed in the spirit to those who might never see it in the flesh.

" 'Italia Una !' Now the war-cry rang
From Alp to Etna: and her dreams were done,
And she herself had wakened into life,
And stood full armed and free: and all her sons
Knew they were happy to have looked on her,
And felt it beautiful to die for her."

And is this nothing? Is it nothing in a people's history that, after the sleep of ages, they have wakened into life? Is it nothing that the soul is free, even though the limbs be still fettered with the chains of degrading despotism? Nay, were there no other difference between the two epochs, there was this—Mazzini had lived. The Italy of 1849 had seen Mazzini, had listened to his voice, had begun at least to lisp some of the noble lessons that he came to teach.

The Italy, then, of 1849 was far other than the Italy of 1815. And the difference was due primarily, and in the main, to the lofty teaching of the great prophet. And yet in no respect was the improved condition of Italy in 1849 more marked than in the fact that Mazzini's ideal had been already shattered. Forgive me if I seem to speak a paradox. It is an eternal truth that life is only possible through death. For modern Italy to live it was necessary that Mazzini's ideal should die. "The Italy of his ideal," as Mr. Fyffe has said, "was a republic, embracing every member of the race, purged of the priestcraft and superstition which had degraded the man to the slave; indebted to itself alone for its independence, and consolidated by the reign of equal law. The rigidity with which Mazzini adhered to his own great project in its completeness, and his impatience of any bargaining away of national rights, excluded him from the work of those practical politicians and men of expedients who in 1859 effected with foreign aid the first step toward Italian union." Mazzini, in fact, as I said last time, had done his work, all the work, perhaps, which a man of his temperament was capable of accom-

plishing for Italy. He had given to the practical politicians a goal at which to aim, but a goal which by *his* means might never have been reached. But it was not only the republican ideal which was shattered. The neo-Guelphic party—the party which “looked to a new and glorious Italy, regenerated not by philosophic republicanism or the sword of a temporal monarch, but by the moral force of a reformed and reforming papacy”—they, too, I say, had been obliged to abandon their ideal. D’Azeglio had seen through this delusion as early as 1847, for in that year he writes from Rome: “I am convinced the magic of Pio Nono will not last. He is an angel, but he is surrounded by demons; he has a disordered state and corrupt elements, and he will not be able to combat the obstacles.” The truth of his prediction was quickly confirmed. Pio Nono was a mild and kindly ecclesiastic, but utterly incapable of putting the papacy at the head of such a mission as this, even had he realized its splendor or necessity. Gioberti himself, the sometime leader of the neo-Guelphic party, published in 1851 the *Rinnovamento*, a work in which he publicly proclaimed the abandonment of his former policy and clearly accepted the principle of a Sardinian hegemony as the inevitable basis of Italian independence. “Except the young sovereign who rules Piedmont, I see no one in Italy who could undertake our emancipation. Instead of imitating Pius, Ferdinand, and Leopold, who violated their sworn compacts, he maintains his with religious observance—vulgar praise in other times, but to-day not small, being contrary to example.”

Gradually, then, the hopes of all Italian patriots,

of all Italian parties, whatever their special predilections previously had been, came to be concentrated on the Sardinian monarchy; began to focus themselves on the young Sardinian king. And the traditions of the Sardinian dynasty, of the house of Savoy, were eminently favorable to the part they were called upon to play. We have already seen how they were established by rather dubious diplomacy in their subalpine kingdom. We have seen, too, that whatever of life there was in Italy in the eighteenth century was concentrated in this province. In the insurrectionary movements of 1821 and 1833 there was little, perhaps, to distinguish the action of the rulers of Piedmont from that of the rest of the Italian princes. Certainly Mazzini had little reason for distinguishing between the despotism of Naples and that of Piedmont. And yet there was a feeling among Italian liberals—and it was well grounded—that the government of Piedmont differed in kind from that of the other states. The ruler of Piedmont was, at any rate, alone among Italian temporal rulers, a native—akin in speech and blood to the people over whom he reigned. But more than that, alone among Italian rulers, Charles Albert of Piedmont had, in the spring of 1848, granted a parliamentary constitution to his people of his own free will. And above all, he had been the first to unsheath the sword in the holy war of Italian independence, and to make Austria feel that powerful as she was she had to confront in Italy a people determined to be free, determined to be one.

On his accession to the throne in 1849, Victor Emmanuel was a young man of twenty-nine. The pros-

pect for Piedmont and for Italy was far from bright, yet there was nothing of undignified despair in the attitude which he maintained in the negotiations with Radetsky for a truce with Austria. "Marshal," he said, "sooner than subscribe to such conditions I would lose a hundred crowns. What my father has sworn I will maintain. If you wish a war to the death, be it so! I will call my nation to arms once more, and you will see of what Piedmont is capable in a general rising. If I fall, it shall be without shame. My house knows the road of exile but not of dishonor." The firm, determined character of the young king comes out clearly at the outset, and his honesty no less. "What my father has sworn I will maintain." Throughout life he was faithful to the promise. "All our efforts," he declared in the first proclamation he issued to his people, "must be directed to maintain our honor untarnished, to heal the wounds of our country, to consolidate our liberal institutions. To this undertaking I conjure all my people, to it I will pledge myself by a solemn oath, and I await from the nation the exchange of help, affection, and confidence."

From the purpose indicated in this solemn pledge Victor Emmanuel never swerved; and though the outlook was for the time being black enough, there was not a little encouragement, as we have seen, for the man who would look back and mark the path that Italy had traversed in the last few years. Nay, even the immediate past was not devoid of all encouragement. True, the campaign of 1849 had ended in unrelieved disaster, but for all that it marked a most important epoch in the history of the Italian movement. "It

baptized," as Mr. Symonds has well said, "the cause of Italian independence with the best blood of Piedmont; it gave it a royal martyr, and it pledged the dynasty of Savoy to a progressive policy from which it never afterward for a single moment deviated."

Meanwhile, amid the general reaction in Italy, Victor Emmanuel and his prime minister, D'Azeglio, set themselves with steadfast courage to reorganize the Sardinian kingdom and carry out constitutional reforms of far-reaching character. But they had first to deal with domestic disaffection, stirred up in Genoa by the republican irreconcilables who still followed Mazzini's lead. Mazzini and his friends did not scruple to impute to the Sardinian government the basest treachery in connection with the events of the recent war and the still more recent peace. "Better Italy enslaved than handed over to the son of the traitor Carlo Alberto." Mazzini was utterly intractable. Fortunately, his work was soon to be taken up by hands more competent than his to carry it through to a reasonable consummation.

Undeterred by domestic disaffection, D'Azeglio and Victor Emmanuel went steadily forward in the path of reform. Their first difficulty was in connection with ecclesiastical affairs. In the little kingdom of Sardinia there were at that time forty-one bishoprics, over fourteen hundred canonries, and eighteen thousand people who had assumed the monastic habit. In fact, taking the whole population through, one person in every two hundred and fourteen was an ecclesiastic. Now this in itself is comparatively an unimportant matter. But when you recollect that in Sardinia the

church still claimed exclusive jurisdiction over all ecclesiastics; the right of affording asylum to criminals, and all the rest of the anomalous privileges of the medieval system, you will understand the magnitude of the difficulty by which the reformer was confronted. For a parallel situation in English history you must go back to the time when Henry II. was falling foul of Becket by attempting to limit ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the famous constitutions of Clarendon. Victor Emmanuel, like Henry II., was anxious to reduce all men to an equality before the civil law. The continued existence of the clerical courts in all the plenitude of power, the vast pretensions of the Jesuits to the exclusive control of education and the censorship of domestic morality, were, however, utterly inconsistent with this reasonable and laudable ambition. Victor Emmanuel, profoundly anxious to avoid friction between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, despatched to the pope, in the autumn of 1849, a special envoy—Count Siccardi. The pope firmly declined to sanction any change in the relations between church and state in Sardinia. "The Holy Father," said the papal representative, "was willing to please the king of Sardinia as far as going into the antechamber of the devil, but into his very chamber he would not go."

Despite this check the king, with the assistance of Siccardi, determined to push on the work of reform; the *Foro Ecclesiastico* (or chief clerical tribunal) was finally abolished, and the privileges and immunities of the vast army of ecclesiastics were sensibly curtailed. The clerical organs thundered denunciations against

the infidel king and his heretic ministers. Luckily for them, a famous act of clerical intolerance just at this time immensely strengthened the hands of both the king and the ministry in dealing with the question. When the minister of commerce, Santa Rosa, died, shortly after the passing of the Siccardine law, he was refused the last sacrament, though he was admittedly a man of blameless life, and though he died in complete communion with the Roman Church. Nothing could have better served the cause of ecclesiastical reform.

I have dwelt on this matter in some detail because it was of immense importance on two grounds. In the first place, it marks the beginning of the breach between the Roman pontiff and the Sardinian king, the man who was destined to be king of Italy, and to establish the seat of government under the shadow of the Vatican itself. The breach thus created is not healed yet, and though the difficulties of the situation are gradually diminishing, we still must recollect that for twenty years at least the contest between the papal and the civil power constituted the hardest of the problems which the makers of modern Italy were called upon to solve. On another ground the matter is important, since it served to introduce to Italian politics the great statesman whose name is peculiarly associated with this question, Count Camillo di Cavour.

During the debates on the abolition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction Cavour gave strong support to the ministerial policy. It was only by timely reform, as he reminded them, that revolution could be avoided. "Do not think," he said, "that the constitutional

throne will be weakened; it will, on the contrary, be strengthened, and it will implant roots so profound in our soil"—mark his prophetic words—"that when revolution again threatens us, not only will the constitutional throne direct it, but that throne will group around itself all the living forces of Italy, and conduct the nation to the destinies which yet await it."

In the splendor and in the certainty of that destiny Cavour had a profound belief. The important support he had recently given to the government claimed recognition at its hands, and in 1850 he joined the ministry of D'Azeglio as minister of commerce. His commanding intellect, his soaring but strictly honorable ambition, his unbending will and slightly domineering temper were already recognized. "Look out what you are doing," said the king to D'Azeglio; "Cavour will soon be master of you all; he will dismiss you; he will never be content till he is prime minister himself."

Born on the 10th of August, 1810, Cavour was, like Mazzini, by birth a Piedmontese. His family belonged to the small exclusive aristocracy of Piedmont—perhaps the smallest, and certainly the proudest, aristocracy in Europe. One of his sponsors, it is interesting to note, was Pauline Borghese, a sister of the great Napoleon. Thus early did the connection between Cavour and the Bonapartes begin. Like other noble youths, he was educated at the military academy at Turin, and joined the army as an engineer in 1828. But the army was little to his taste. He had already begun to realize the abject condition of his native country, and to indulge himself in dreams for its re-

generation. The events of the French Revolution of 1830 made a great impression on his mind—an impression which he communicated to his comrades with too much freedom to please the authorities at home. In consequence of his indiscretion he was placed under semi-arrest in the Fort de Bard; and disgusted with the situation, he resigned his commission in 1831.

The drift of his political opinions about this time may be gathered from a letter which he addressed to an English friend in December, 1829:

“I congratulate you sincerely on the happy change which has taken place in the policy of your government.” (Referring, I suppose, to the Catholic emancipation act, carried by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel.) “Whilst all Europe is walking with a firm step in the path of progress, unhappy Italy is borne down perpetually under the same system of civil and religious tyranny. Pity those who, with a soul made to develop the generous principles of civilization, are compelled to see their country brutalized by Austrian bayonets. Tell your countrymen that we are not undeserving of liberty; that if we have rotten members, we have also men who are worthy to enjoy the blessings of light. Forgive me if I wander, but my soul is weighed down under the weight of indignation and sorrow.” Cavour had already begun to take that profound interest in English politics which he maintained till his death. It is interesting to note that from this time onward he regularly took in the *Times*, the *Morning Post*, and the *Economist*.

But Cavour was by no means content even with such admirable sources of information as these. He

was bent on making a profound study of the political, the social, and above all the economical, questions which were then agitating both England and the Continent. Repeatedly we find him writing to friends in England for corn-law statistics, for government reports, for parliamentary blue books, and so forth—a species of interesting literature which is not, I fancy, in much demand even in the most “progressive” of free libraries in England. Studies such as these inevitably led him to institute comparisons between the steady and moderated progress of a country like England and the ignoble stagnation of his own unhappy fatherland. He followed the reform agitation in England with the closest interest, and hailed the passing of the bill of 1832 as an emblem of hope for the liberal party throughout Europe—even for Italy. “And in the miserable position in which we are placed,” he writes, “we need, indeed, a ray of hope. Pressed on the one side by Austrian bayonets, on the other by the furious excommunications of the pope, our condition is truly deplorable. Every free exercise of thought, every generous sentiment, is stifled, as if it were a sacrilege or a crime against the state. We cannot hope to obtain by ourselves any relief from such enormous misfortunes. . . . The voice of England alone can obtain for the people of the Romagna a supportable government, somewhat in harmony with the ideas and manners of our age.”

After leaving the army Cavour devoted his energies to agriculture and the management of his ancestral property at Léri. At the first blush agriculture has small attractions for an active-minded man. “The

habitué of the salon," as Cavour himself writes, "feels a certain repugnance for works which begin by the analysis of dunghills, and end in the middle of cattle-sheds; but if he can get over his first repugnance he will find much to attract him." For Cavour himself, who when he started could not distinguish between a turnip and a potato, the experience was of the greatest value. The monotony of the pursuit, moreover, was relieved by periodical travels, in the course of which he visited this country,¹ Ireland, and Scotland. Here he pursued with the most ardent zeal the studies in social and political affairs which had so long engaged him. The condition of the poor, the working of the new poor law, the industrial wealth, the expanding commerce, and above all the parliamentary government of this country, all engaged his serious attention. Night after night the young Italian, destined to become the real founder of parliamentary government in Italy, was to be seen in the strangers' gallery, following with the utmost interest the debates, and making himself thoroughly conversant with the rules of procedure, the methods of conducting business, and above all, with the niceties of parliamentary tactics in the English House of Commons. To Cavour the experience thus gained was of course of incalculable value in later years.

Meanwhile he began about 1835 to contribute articles on the English poor law, on communism, on free trade, on railways, and on a number of kindred topics, to various journals and reviews. In 1843 he published in the *Bibliothèque Universelle de Genève* an

¹ England; these lectures were delivered at Oxford.

article on Ireland, distinguished by all his characteristic sobriety of judgment and sturdy common sense. Shortly before this, in 1842, he had taken an active share in the foundation of the Agricultural Society of Piedmont, an association designed not merely for the dissemination of correct ideas on stock-breeding and chemical manures, but also to bring together all the leading men who held liberal opinions in Piedmont. These enlightened leaders had to advance with the utmost caution. In 1847 Cavour, in conjunction with Santa Rosa, Cesare Balbo, and others, founded a new journal, named the *Risorgimento*, for the purpose of disseminating constitutional ideas of government. The program of the constitutional party at this time was brief but pregnant: "Independence of Italy, union between the princes and peoples, progress in the path of reform, and a league between the Italian states."

In this program there is, you may notice, a notable omission. It speaks of independence, it speaks of a league between the states, it points to federation; there is no hint of unity. And, indeed, at this moment Cavour and the Italian liberals were content to let the latter question bide its time. That unity would ultimately be achieved they were assured; but the first essential was independence. Hence the inveterate hostility with which this party was pursued by the Mazzinist enthusiasts. The Mazzinists regarded all compromise, all temporizing, as being in itself a handling of the accursed thing. They never would realize that in politics and in diplomacy the half, as the Greek proverb has it, is often better than the whole. No man ever realized this truth more profoundly than

Cavour. "Let us," he was wont to say, "do one thing at a time; let us get rid of the Austrians, and we shall see—*nous verrons*." At the same time he pushed on to the utmost of his power internal reform in Piedmont. "What is the good," he asked, "of reforms which lead to no conclusion and terminate nothing? Let us demand a constitution. Since the government can be no longer maintained on the bases that have hitherto supported it, let it replace them by others comformable to the spirit of the time, to the progress of civilization; let it replace them before it is too late, before social authority falls into dissolution amid the clamors of the people." Mark well those words; they would form a fitting text for the whole of Cavour's political career: "Let it replace them before social authority falls into dissolution amid the clamors of the people." Reform, primarily for its own sake; but, not less, to anticipate, to forestall, to cut the ground from under the feet of destructive revolution. That is the position of a true liberal; that is the position of a genuine conservative.

The demand was granted; a *constitution*, or *statuto*, was conceded, and in 1848 Count Cavour took his seat as member for Turin in the first Parliament of Piedmont.

Thanks to the experience he had gained in England, Cavour was from the first the mold of the parliamentary system in his own country. But on his first entrance into active political life he was by no means popular. In times of revolutionary excitement wise and moderate men very seldom are. By the ultra-democrats—the noisy remnants of the Mazzinist

party—he was regarded as a reactionary aristocrat; by his own order, on the other hand, he was shunned as a dangerous revolutionist. But by the rigor and ability with which he supported the Siccadian law for the abolition of clerical jurisdictions he managed to conciliate in time the respect of all moderate men.

Hence on the death of Santa Rosa he was, as we have seen, appointed minister of commerce and agriculture. This office gave him the opportunity of putting into practice those sound economical and financial principles which he had imbibed for the most part in this country, and in the truth of which he had so profound a conviction. He pushed on reform apace; he improved the internal means of communication, removed burdensome restrictions on trade, and concluded commercial treaties with England, France, Belgium, and other powers. His reforms enormously increased the industrial resources of the country, and rendered it more capable of sustaining the arduous part it had to play in the immediate future. But not even the wisest can escape the reproach of fools, and after a brief official career marked by exceptional activity Cavour was obliged to retire. He took the opportunity thus afforded him of paying another visit to his friends in England and enlightening the best English opinion on the existing situation in Italy. It was indeed assuming every day a more and more critical complexion. The liberal and reforming policy of the Sardinian government was beginning to excite the indignation of the reactionary powers. Austria and Prussia indeed had the effrontery to suggest to Victor Emmanuel that he would best consult his own interests

by imitating the reactionary policy of the vassal courts of Florence and Naples, Modena and Parma. The king, in reply, courteously but firmly intimated to his distinguished advisers that he was master in his own house, that he in no way interfered with what other sovereigns thought fit to do, and that he desired on his part perfect liberty of action! The ecclesiastical situation was not less fraught with difficulty than the political. The debates on the Siccardian law had in fact raised the whole question of the relations of church and state in Italy—a question everywhere and always thorny, but rendered in Italy a hundred-fold more difficult by the existence of the temporal dominions of the papacy. Such were some of the many problems confronting Cavour when in 1852 he became prime minister of Sardinia. As to his immediate policy Cavour was perfectly clear. His program is thus stated by himself:

“Piedmont must begin by raising herself, by re-establishing in Europe, as well as in Italy, a position and a credit equal to her ambition. Hence there must be a policy unswerving in its aims, but flexible and various as to the means employed, embracing the exchequer, military reorganization, diplomacy, and religious affairs.”

There are, it has been well said, two qualities essential to a statesman—the one is prudence, the other is imprudence. Cavour possessed the two qualities in combination in an exceptional degree. He knew that in the affairs of states, as in the affairs of individuals, there comes a time when rashness is the height of prudence.

“He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch
To gain or lose it all.”

Such a crisis had arrived in the history of Sardinia when, in 1854, the western powers embarked on the Crimean War. Realize to yourselves the position of Piedmont at this most critical juncture. One of many states in Italy, not the oldest, not the largest, not the richest, loaded with debt, prostrate beneath the recent recollection of a crushing military disaster, by no means on the best of terms with its immediate neighbors, and among the European “Powers” practically unrecognized—this was the state which proposed in 1854 to join the western powers in the defense of the dominions of the Porte. The negotiations were protracted for months. Among his colleagues Cavour stood absolutely alone in advocating this seemingly desperate enterprise. To them the whole scheme was sheer insanity. But the king stood firmly by Cavour. The ministers were permitted to resign, and in January, 1855, the memorable treaty was signed by which Sardinia pledged herself to go to the assistance of the western powers with fifteen thousand (afterward increased to twenty-five thousand) men. “It was,” says Massari, “a solemn moment for the king, and decided the fate of his country; that treaty was the fortune of Italy. To overcome so many difficulties the genius of Cavour was not enough; there was needed also the firmness of Victor Emmanuel, for without him the treaty would not have been concluded.” I have quoted Massari’s judgment, for it insists on an impor-

tant truth, realized to the full by the king's devoted subjects in Italy, but not properly appreciated in England, viz., the immensely important part played at every great crisis in the drama of Italian unification by Victor Emmanuel himself. Here in the Crimean treaty; again after the peace of Villafranca; again in regard to the Neapolitan question in 1861, and finally in the extremely delicate and difficult negotiation of 1870—in all these crises it was the courage and firmness and tact of the king himself which surmounted every difficulty and insured success.

But in regard to Sardinia's intervention in the Crimea you may fairly ask—What was her interest in the quarrel, what right had she to interfere, what could she hope to gain in return for the risks she ran? Cavour himself anticipated the interrogation. In a great speech on the treaty he showed that in possession of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles Russia would be irresistible in the Mediterranean. "But I may be asked," he said, "what matters it to us if Russia has the mastery in the Mediterranean? It may be said that that mastery does not belong to Italy nor to Sardinia; it is now the possession of England and of France; instead of two masters the Mediterranean will have three. I cannot believe that such sentiments can have an echo in this assembly. *They would amount to a giving up of our hopes of the future!* How will this treaty avail Italy?" he concluded. "I will tell you. In the only way in which we, or perhaps any one, can help Italy in the present condition of Europe. The experience of past years and of past centuries has proved how little conspiracies, plots, revolutions, and

ill-directed movements have profited Italy. So far from doing so, they have proved the greatest calamity which has afflicted this fair part of Europe; not only from the vast amount of human misery they have entailed, not only because they have been the cause and the excuse for acts of increasing severity, but especially because these continual conspiracies, these repeated revolutions, these ineffectual risings, have had the effect of lessening the esteem, and even to a certain extent the sympathy, which the other nations of Europe once felt for Italy. Now I believe that the first condition of any improvement in the fate of Italy is that we should restore to her her good name, and so act that all nations, governments, and peoples should render justice to her great qualities. And to this end two things are necessary: first, that we should prove to Europe that Italy has sufficient civil virtue to govern herself with order and form herself for liberty, and that she is capable of receiving the most perfect system of government known to us; and secondly, that we should show that in military virtue we are not inferior to our ancestors. You have already rendered one service to Italy by the conduct you have pursued for seven years, proving in the clearest way to Europe that the Italians are able to govern themselves with wisdom, prudence, and loyalty. It remains for you to render her no less a service, if not even a greater; it remains for you to show that the sons of Italy can fight like brave men on the fields of glory. And I am persuaded that the laurels which our soldiers will gather in the plains of the East will do more for the future of Italy than all that has been done by those

who have thought by declamation and writing to effect her regeneration."

Never was prudent calculation more exactly fulfilled, never was rash resolve more fully justified. The conduct of the Sardinian contingent in the Crimea not only wiped out the disgrace of Custoza and Novara; it gave to Sardinia for the first time a footing among the "Powers"; above all, it enabled her to take her part on terms of equality in the diplomatic negotiations which resulted in the peace of Paris.

The congress of Paris, to which Cavour was admitted, despite the protests of Austria, proved to be the turning-point in the fortunes of Sardinia and of Italy. In the English representatives, Lord Cowley and Lord Clarendon, and—a still more important matter—in the emperor of the French, Cavour was assured of sympathetic auditors when he was at last permitted to bring the condition of Italy before the congress. For their information he described the condition of the several states in Italy, picturing the misgovernment of Naples especially in the most repulsive colors. Lord Clarendon in consequence proposed remonstrance with King Ferdinand. But Cavour, with characteristic courage, even in the presence of the Austrian minister, impatiently brushed away all secondary causes and went straight to the point. The main cause, he said, of the state of things they all agreed in deprecating was Austria. "Austria is the arch-enemy of Italian independence; the permanent danger to the only free nation in Italy, the nation I have the honor to represent." Austria, on the other hand, despite the urgency

of England and France, declined to hold out any hope of an amelioration of the scandal of her rule in Italy. After the congress, Cavour met Lord Clarendon and put the matter briefly thus: "That which has passed in the congress proves two things: first, that Austria is decided to persist in her system of oppression and violence toward Italy; secondly, that the forces of diplomacy are impotent to modify that system. See the consequences for Piedmont. With the irritation on one side and the arrogance of Austria on the other, there are but two alternatives to take: reconcile ourselves to Austria and the pope, or prepare to declare war at the Court of Vienna in a future not far distant. If the first part is preferable, I must on my return to Turin advise my king to call to power the friends of Austria and the pope. If the second hypothesis is best, my friends and I will not shrink from preparing for a terrible war—a war to the death." Lord Clarendon was sympathetic, but Cavour saw clearly that he was likely to get from England little else than moral support. He therefore prepared to pin his faith to the vanity and ambition of Napoleon III. "What can I do for Italy?" Napoleon had asked in 1855. Cavour told him frankly that he could do much, and moreover, showed him how it could be done. That interview was the foundation of the famous Franco-Sardinian alliance formally consummated some three years later.

During the next two years (1856-58) the relations of Austria and Sardinia became every day more strained. It was obvious that the situation could have but one issue. For the moment the good understand-

ing between Italy and France, on which everything depended, was interrupted by the dastardly attempt of Orsini upon the emperor's life. The incident had another unfortunate result, as it served to embitter the relations between England and the Continental monarchies. The addresses of congratulation addressed to Napoleon teemed with insulting allusions to this country, whence Orsini had started on his fanatical errand. One such urged that "London, the infamous haunt in which machinations so infernal are planned, should be destroyed forever." And Napoleon himself spoke of England as a "den of assassins." How far England deserved the appellation no one could judge better than Napoleon himself.

Notwithstanding, however, this untoward incident, Cavour and the emperor had their famous interview at Plombières in the summer of 1858. The result of it was for the time a secret, though Victor Emmanuel was heard to say that next year he would be king of Italy or plain M. de Savoie. The speech with which the king opened the parliamentary session of 1859 pointed in the same direction. The concluding paragraph, which has become memorable in history, is said to have been inspired by the emperor himself. "Our country," said the king, "small in territory, has acquired credit in the councils of Europe, because she is great in the idea she represents, in the sympathy that she inspires. This situation is not exempt from perils, for while we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of anguish (*grido di dolore*) that comes up to us from many parts of Italy. Strong in concord, confident in our good right, we await with prudence and

resolution the decrees of Divine Providence.” The effect of this speech is described by Massari, himself an eye-witness of the exciting scene, as simply electric. “At every period,” he says, “the speech was interrupted by clamorous applause and cries of *Viva il Rè!* But when he came to the words *grido di dolore*, there was an enthusiasm quite indescribable. Senators, deputies, spectators, all sprang to their feet with a bound, and broke into passionate acclamations. The ministers of France, Russia, Prussia, and England were utterly astonished and carried away by the marvellous spectacle. The face of the ambassador of Naples was covered with a gloomy pallor. We poor exiles did not even attempt to wipe away the tears that flowed unrestrainedly from our eyes as we frantically clapped our hands in applause of that king who had remembered our sorrows, who had promised us a country. Before the victories, the plebiscites, and the annexations conferred on him the crown of Italy he reigned in our hearts; he was our king!” Even after this declaration efforts were made by neutral powers, notably by England, to avert the coming war, but Austria insisted as a preliminary on Sardinian disarmament. Cavour firmly refused. In March he again met Napoleon in Paris. The terms of the alliance were finally arranged. On the 23d of April the Austrian ultimatum demanding immediate disarmament reached Turin, and within three days the Sardinian army was on the march for Lombardy. “It is done,” said Cavour to some friends. “*Alea jacta est*. We have made some history, and now to dinner.”

“People of Italy,” so the royal proclamation ran,

"Austria assails Piedmont because I have maintained the cause of our common country in the councils of Europe, because I was not insensible to your cries of anguish. Thus she now violently breaks the treaties she has never respected.

"So to-day the right of the nation is complete, and I can with a free conscience fulfil the vow I made on the tomb of my parent by taking up arms to defend my throne, the liberties of my people, the honor of the Italian name. I fight for the right of the whole nation. We confide in God and in our concord; we confide in the valor of the Italian soldiers, in the alliance of the noble French nation; we confide in the justice of public opinion. I have no other ambition than to be the first soldier of Italian independence. *Viva l'Italia.*"

On the 13th of May the king met at Genoa the emperor of the French, "his generous ally," who had come to "liberate Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic." The two sovereigns went together to the front. For a month the allies carried all before them; on the 4th of June they won the great victory of Magenta; on the 8th they entered Milan; and on the 24th they won the double battle of Solferino and San Martino—the crowning glory of a brilliant campaign. And then—the "magnanimous ally" stopped short. He met the Emperor Francis Joseph at Villafranca, and the terms of an armistice by which Lombardy was to be united with Piedmont, while Venice was left to Austria, were arranged. It is a barren task to canvass Napoleon's motives for this extraordinary step. Possibly, as Cavour afterward believed, it was due more to the impulse of the moment than to any pre-

conceived design. Enough to note the results. To the peoples of the subject provinces, to the Venetians, to the Tuscans, to the Modenese, above all, to the Romagnuoli, who had looked for speedy emancipation from despotic masters, the news came as a calamitous disappointment. Cavour at the moment could attribute it to nothing but treachery, calmly calculated and cruelly practiced. Victor Emmanuel, though not less bitterly grieved and disappointed than his ministers, alone retained some measure of composure, some perception of the advantages already secured.

The anger of Cavour at the emperor's treachery was unbounded. On learning the news he instantly departed for the camp, and regardless alike of diplomatic etiquette and ministerial decencies, he showered reproaches indifferently on both the sovereigns. He besought his master to repudiate the terms and decline to accept Lombardy under these humiliating conditions. On the king's refusal to accept this rash advice he immediately resigned and withdrew to his farms at Léri. This once only in his whole career did his feelings get the better of his judgment, and well may he be forgiven. Of his almost superhuman labors in the period just before the war the world, says his biographer Bianchi, will never know. But history in its justice will relate how in the midst of such a boiling over of violent passions, of mortal hatreds, of generous excitement, of storms and worries indescribable, he remained imperturbably serene, calculating the current events, and knowing how to master men and things to hit the best opportunity for action. Though he held in his hand the fermenting revolution, never

did he once depart from the course of patient moderation which alone could save the Italian question from becoming lacerated by the claws of the Austrian eagle in that last and most difficult period of the negotiations. His appetite for work was prodigious. At one and the same time he was president of the council, minister of foreign affairs, minister of war, minister of the interior. He had a bed in the war office, and during the night he walked in his dressing-gown from one department to the other, giving directions as to police regulations, diplomatic correspondence, and preparations for war, inflaming every one by his example of laboriousness and patriotism. "We have a government, a chamber, a constitution," the Piedmontese were wont to say; "the name for it all is Cavour." No wonder, then, that the breakdown of that which was especially his work—the French alliance—should have prostrated him.

But the king's judgment at this most agitating crisis was more sound than his. He was grieved to the heart by the turn events had taken, but he saw what Cavour failed to see, that by the victories of 1859 much had been achieved. "The political unity of Italy, since Novara a possibility, has become since Villafranca a necessity." The stain of Novara had been wiped out; Austria had been driven back behind the Mincio; Lombardy was united with Piedmont in a great subalpine kingdom; and in the following year Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Roman legations were annexed by universal plebiscite to this new kingdom of North Italy. Cavour recovered his spirits with a rebound, and after a few months' retirement returned

to power. But his humiliations were not yet completed; Napoleon's bill had still to be paid. Even the little he had accomplished he had not done for nothing. The "little account" proved when presented, as sometimes happens in less important bills, to be a very big account. In view of the large accessions to the Sardinian kingdom by the annexation of Tuscany, Romagna, and other provinces, Napoleon claimed the cession of Savoy.

The history of this most discreditable transaction—a transaction which has left an indelible stain on French diplomacy—belongs more properly to my next lecture. Enough to say in this place that the demand was perforce conceded. For all concerned it was a lamentable necessity, for the king especially it was "the sacrifice most painful to his heart" to have to surrender to the foreigner "the cradle of his race." The rage of the Mazzinists and of Garibaldi knew no bounds. To them Cavour was a "low intriguer," Napoleon nothing better than a vulpine knave"; but all consideration of the justice of these epithets I must postpone. I must postpone also, as belonging more properly to Garibaldi's life, the last act in Cavour's political career, by which, thanks hardly less to him than to the intrepid volunteer, the kingdom of the South was united to the kingdom of the North, and Italy, her unity all but perfectly achieved, was free in glad reality from the Adriatic to the Alps.

Cavour's life-work was nearly done. He lived to see his master proclaimed king of Italy—an Italy that included every member of the race except the Venetians and the Roman subjects of the pope. But he

saw clearly that even then much still remained to be accomplished. Thanks to the sword of Garibaldi and the enthusiasm which he excited in the South, Naples was annexed to the northern kingdom. But it had still to be assimilated. The people were lawless, traditionally opposed to government of any sort, restless and troublesome. Yet nothing would persuade Cavour to have recourse to what are called "extraordinary measures." He shrank from the least breach of what he regarded as constitutional government. Possibly he was on this point over-sensitive. But if he was in error it was the error of a noble nature. Besides, parliamentary institutions in Italy—those institutions which Cavour had really created—were still on their trial. Little wonder that their creator should have shrunk from vitiating the experiment by unnecessary interference with its course. "Anybody," he was wont to say, "can govern with a state of siege." The idea of its application to the Sicilies was the haunting nightmare of his last illness. "No state of siege, no state of siege," he was heard repeatedly to murmur.

The other difficulty which Cavour left unsolved was infinitely greater, infinitely more intricate and permanent, and it was just such a difficulty as to demand for its solution, in especial measure, his exceptional abilities. The difficulty to which, of course, I refer, was that created by the attitude of the papacy in the question of the temporal power. I say nothing, for the present, of the hardly less difficult claim of the church to the exclusive regulation of education. The problem is thus clearly stated by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1861: "There can be no ques-

tion that the existence of an effective Italian power must involve a material modification in the condition of the court of Rome. A king of Italy and a sovereign pontiff, both ruling, or laying claim to rule, over any considerable portion of Italian territory, are a contradiction pregnant with irreconcilable opposition. . . . The king of Italy can never become the supreme head of a national government so long as the pope continues to claim temporal and sovereign dominion in the peninsula, for the authority of the crown would be exposed to perpetual antagonism within the pale of its own civil jurisdiction. On the other hand, it is also certain that to obtain from the court of Rome the necessary concessions for obviating such collisions with the royal authority involves what may well appear the hopeless task of modifying the most tenacious and unrelaxing of human constitutions." Even the annexation of the Romagna to the kingdom of Italy in 1860 had not been accomplished without fulminations from the Vatican, which culminated at last in the once dreadful ban of excommunication. Victor Emmanuel was little inconvenienced by the papal anathemas, but as a loyal and even devoted son of the church he was deeply hurt. You may read in Miss Godkin's admirable *Life* the noble, the tender appeal from the king to the pope, in which he prayed the holy father to sanction the act by which the peoples of the Romagna had with absolute spontaneity united themselves to the Italian kingdom, and to give his blessing to the holy work of Italian unification. The appeal was made in vain.

But Cavour, no less loyal than his master to the church, never doubted that the further change must

come with all its necessary consequences; that the new kingdom of Italy must eventually establish its seat of government in the ancient capital at Rome. "The choice of a capital is determined," he said, "by high moral considerations. It is the sentiment of the people that decides. Rome unites all the conditions, historical, intellectual, moral, which form the capital of a great state. . . . It remains to convince the holy father that the church can be independent without the temporal power. 'Holy Father,' we will say, 'the temporal power is for you no longer a guarantee of independence. Renounce it, and we will give you that liberty which for three centuries you have in vain demanded from the great Catholic powers. . . . We are ready to proclaim in Italy this great principle: *The Free Church in the Free State.*' "

"We hold," said Cavour, in one of his latest and most famous speeches (26 March, 1861), "we hold that the independence and dignity of the supreme pontiff, as well as the independence of the church, will be secured by the separation of the two powers, and by a large application of the principles of liberty to the relations between civil and religious society." He next expressed a fervent hope that this change might be brought about by amicable arrangement with the Vatican. "But what," he continued, "what if, in circumstances as fatal to the church as to Italy, the pope should prove inflexible and persist in rejecting all terms? Then, gentlemen, we should still not desist from proclaiming loudly the same principles; we should not desist from declaring that whether or not an understanding precede our entry into the eternal

city, Italy will no sooner have pronounced the forfeiture of the temporal power than she will emancipate the church from the state, and secure the liberty of the former on the amplest foundations."

Most unfortunately, as we shall see next time, it was not to be. Every advance on the part of the Italian government was met by the inflexible, unvarying *non possumus*. But this was the dream in the contemplation of which the great statesman of Italian independence went to his eternal rest. Even his iron constitution succumbed at last to the superhuman exertions he had made, to the manifold and harassing anxieties he had undergone, to the alternations of exciting triumph and humiliating failure in which his last few years had been passed. The king was with him to the end. His thoughts, even in delirium, were still with the master he had served so faithfully, still for the country he had loved so well. "I will have no state of siege for the Neapolitans," he cried. "Li lavi, li lavi, li lavi!" Purify them, purify them, purify them. And then, with his last breath, to the attendant brother, "Frate, Frate, libera chiesa in libero stato."

Thus Cavour passed away on the 5th of June, 1861. Well might the whole Italian people—from the king, who had lost not merely his ablest counsellor, but his dearest friend, down to the humblest peasant—well might the whole people be plunged in grief almost inconsolable. Well might they mourn for him who had struck off from their limbs the fetters of an alien yoke; who had guided them safely through the early stages—always difficult and thorny—of parliamentary

government; who had not merely shown them the blessings of freedom, but had taught them how to use their freedom with moderation, with good sense, and—lesson most difficult of all to learn—with due regard to the liberties of others. “Italy a nation is the legacy, the lifework, of Cavour.”¹ . . . Others have been devoted to the cause of national liberation. . . . He knew how to bring it into the sphere of possibilities; he made it pure of any factious spirit; he led it away from barren utopias, kept it clear of reckless conspiracies, steered straight between revolution and reaction, and gave it an organized force, a flag, a government, and foreign allies.” It is no disparagement to Mazzini, it is no disparagement to Garibaldi, to say that neither of them could have done so much for Italy. And yet it may well be doubted whether Cavour himself could have accomplished all he did but for the assistance which indirectly he derived from the labors of men with whom he had nothing in common save an ardent patriotism, a passionate longing for the realization of the national unity of their Italian fatherland. The prophet, the statesman, the crusader, each was complementary in his lifework to the other. Possessed of widely diverse gifts, dissimilar in temper, and generally opposed in policy, but equal in abnegation of all selfish aims, equal in devotion to a noble cause, equal in the steadfast courage with which it was pursued, each will have his proper niche in the temple of Italian unity, for each contributed most precious and invaluable gifts to the building of that imperishable fane.

¹ Mazade: *Life of Cavour*.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. How was the Italy of 1849 different from that of 1815?
2. What two ideals for the unity of Italy had been abandoned at this time?
3. Why did the hopes of the patriots turn to Piedmont?
4. What pledge did Victor Emmanuel make in the cause of the nation?
5. Describe his difficulties with the pope concerning Sardinia.
6. Why was this struggle a significant one?
7. What were the circumstances of Cavour's early life?
8. How did his studies in Italy and England fit him for future political leadership?
9. How did he influence public opinion through his writings?
10. Why did his party incur the hostility of the Mazzinists?
11. What saying of his would form a fitting text for his career?
12. What reforms did he promote both in parliament and as minister of commerce?
13. What problems confronted him when he became prime minister?
14. What was Cavour's reason for taking part in the Crimean War?
15. Describe Cavour's conferences at the Congress of Paris.
16. Describe the events at the opening of parliament in 1859.
17. What effect had the Peace of Villafranca upon the Italians, Cavour, and the king?
18. What did the payment of Napoleon's account involve?
19. What two great problems did Cavour leave unsolved?
20. Why was Victor Emmanuel excommunicated?
21. What was Cavour's ideal for the church?

CHAPTER III

GARIBALDI

THE UNION OF NORTH AND SOUTH

It will be for your convenience, I think, that I should briefly recall the position of affairs after the exciting events of 1859. By the terms of the Peace of Villafranca, Lombardy was to be united with Piedmont, but Venice, with the fortresses of the Quadrilateral, was to be retained by Austria: the fugitive rulers of the provinces of central Italy were to be restored, and in all other respects, the *status quo ante* 1859, was to be completely reëstablished. But the diplomatists at Zurich in 1859, like the diplomatists at Vienna in 1815, were counting without their host. "They seemed to think," writes Massari, "that they had only to declare that Leopold of Lorraine should go to Florence, Francis of Este to Modena, the Duchesse de Bourbon to Parma, and the pope's legates to Bologna, Ferrara, Forte, and Ravenna. But the inhabitants had very different views." On the outbreak of the war these prudent princes had all abandoned their several capitals, and had taken refuge either with the Austrian army or abroad. Provisional governments were consequently formed at once in Tuscany, in Modena, and Parma, and in the Roman states; and deputations were sent to offer the allegiance of the

several states to Victor Emmanuel without delay. In the case of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, the matter was comparatively simple, but the action of the Roman legations at once raised issues of enormous and far-reaching magnitude. Not merely did it raise the question, bristling with difficulties, of the relations of the new Italian kingdom and the temporal power, but it raised it at a time when the pope and his temporal dominions were under the immediate protection of Italy's "magnanimous ally." The definitive settlement of the whole matter was, however, postponed for the time being to the conclusion of the peace. The preliminaries of peace suggested the formation, outside the enlarged kingdom of Piedmont, of an Italian confederation, under the presidency of the pope, to which the Austrian provinces and the restored duchies were to belong.

No doubt, in the opinion of the rulers, such an arrangement was neat and satisfactory. Unfortunately it had one defect; it entirely failed to take account of the wishes of those who were most immediately concerned. The peoples were inflexibly resolved neither to go back under a despotic yoke, nor to remain practically independent and therefore powerless units, but to become the subjects of Victor Emmanuel, and take their place at once in the new Italian kingdom. "Italy," said Napoleon, in a farewell proclamation to the troops, "Italy henceforth mistress of her destinies, will have only herself to blame if she does not make regular progress in order and liberty." He had made it further understood that he would neither assist in nor permit the forcible restoration of

the petty despots of central Italy to their respective thrones. Now all that the people asked was to be allowed to mold their own destinies in accordance with Napoleon's hint. Each of the three divisions, Tuscany, the Romagna, and Modena and Parma, now united under the title of Emilia, proceeded, therefore, to elect representative assemblies, which in every case unanimously resolved upon union with Piedmont. The king promised to do all he could to procure the sanction of Europe to the scheme which they desired. France was willing, on conditions subsequently revealed; England, under the government of Lord Palmerston, was entirely favorable. But the ways of diplomacy are tedious, and neither Cavour nor the king was anxious in so delicate a matter to act in defiance of its dictates.

The main obstacles, of course, were Austria and the pope, the latter being infinitely the more serious of the two. Not even the efforts of the French emperor, without whose support the temporal power could not have subsisted for a day, could induce the Vatican to abate one iota of the claims it had so long sustained. Equally in vain were the remonstrances addressed by Victor Emmanuel to the pope. His message was to the last degree dignified and dutiful. "A devoted son of the church, I have always nourished," wrote the king, "a sense of sincere attachment, of veneration and respect, toward Holy Church and its august head. It never was, and it is not my intention to fail in my duties as a Catholic prince, or to curtail as far as in me lies those rights and that authority which the Holy See exercises on earth by divine commission from

heaven. But I also have sacred duties to fulfil before God and man, toward my country and toward the people whom Divine Providence has confided to my government. I have always sought to reconcile the duties of a Catholic prince with those of an independent sovereign of a free and civilized nation, both in the internal rule of my states and in my foreign policy. . . . These are dangerous times. It is not for me to indicate the safest way to restore quiet to our country, and to reëstablish on a solid basis the prestige and authority of the Holy See in Italy. At the same time I believe it my duty to lay before your holiness an idea of which I am fully convinced. It is this: that taking into consideration the necessity of the times, the increasing force of the principle of nationality, the irresistible impulse which impels the people of Italy to unite and order themselves in conformity with the model adopted by all civilized nations—an impulse which, I believe, demands my frank and loyal concurrence—such a state of things might be established as would reserve to the church its high dominion, and assure to the supreme pontiff a glorious post at the head of the Italian nation, while giving the people of the (papal) provinces a share in the benefits that a kingdom, strong and highly national, secures to the greater part of central Italy."

But no remonstrance, no petition, no advice could in the least degree shake the Vatican in the stubbornly consistent attitude it had assumed. Denunciations were followed by anathemas, anathemas by excommunication. But when the several peoples had once more pronounced by universal plebiscite in favor of a

junction with Piedmont, not Tuscany only nor Emilia, but Bologna also and the other Roman legations, were united in irrevocable bonds with the kingdom of North Italy. On the 2d of April, 1860, the first Italian Parliament, representing a kingdom of eleven million people, assembled at Turin. "The last time I opened Parliament," said the king's speech, "when Italy was sunk in sorrows and the state menaced by great dangers, faith in divine justice comforted me and augured well for our destinies. In very brief space of time an invasion was repelled, Lombardy liberated by the glorious achievements of the army, central Italy freed by the marvelous merit of her people; and to-day I have here assembled around me the representatives of the rights and of the hopes of the nation. . . . In turning our attention," he concluded, "to the new order of affairs, we invite all sincere opinions to a noble emulation that we may attain the grand end of the well-being of the people and the greatness of the country. It is no longer the Italy of the Romans, nor that of the Middle Ages, it must no longer be the battlefield of ambitious foreigners, but it must rather be the Italy of the Italians."

But in the midst of the general jubilation which so auspicious an event naturally evoked there was one discordant note. In one of the clauses of the royal speech from which I have already quoted, these words occur: "In gratitude to France; for the good of Italy; to consolidate the union between two nations that have a common origin, principles, and destinies, and finding it necessary to make some sacrifice, I have made that which has cost my heart dear. Subject to the vote of

the people, the approbation of Parliament, and the consent of Switzerland, I have made a treaty for the reunion of Savoy and Nice to France." It was indeed a painful sacrifice. Was it inevitable? On the whole I am inclined to think it was, and that for two reasons: (1) I am convinced that Cavour and still more Victor Emmanuel would never have made the bitter sacrifice except in deference to inexorable necessity; (2) it was admittedly the sole condition upon which the "vulpine knave," as Garibaldi was wont to call Napoleon III., would consent to the aggrandizement, as *he* conceived it, of a neighboring power. Perhaps too much has been made of this question. The provinces—or at least Savoy—were in all essentials French; they assented by plebiscite to the change of masters; Savoy could contribute little to the resources of the new kingdom, and its conduct on more than one occasion had almost justified Cavour's assertion that it was the Ireland of Italy. In the chambers, too, Cavour's majority was unbroken, the treaty being ratified by a majority of 229, more than four-fifths of the whole chamber.

But there was one man in Italy to whom the cession came as an overpowering blow, the man who, by his brilliant achievement in South Italy, was just about to rivet upon himself the attention of the world—I mean Garibaldi. "You have made me," he cried, "a stranger in the land of my birth."

Garibaldi, whose career up to this point I must now very briefly trace, was born at Nice, in 1807, being, therefore, two years the junior of Mazzini, and three years older than Cavour. He was destined by his

parents, humble but worthy folk, for the priesthood. But he preferred the sea, and for many years he led a roving and adventurous life. Like many of the ardent youths of Italy, he came early under the influence of Mazzini's teaching; joined the association of "Young Italy," and from that moment consecrated his life with a simple-heartedness worthy of a medieval crusader to the service of his country. He was engaged in the abortive expedition to Savoy in 1834, and was condemned to death, but managed to escape to South America. For the next fourteen years he was an exile, engaged for the most part in fighting the battles of Montevideo with the famous "Italian Legion," which he organized and commanded. The experience which he thus acquired of rough, irregular, guerilla warfare was afterward invaluable.

In 1847 the news reached him in Montevideo of the great excitement which prevailed in Italy and the earnest expectation of a momentous crisis in the history of his native land. It was the moment, you remember, of the supremacy of the neo-Guelphic party, when the hopes of Italy were for a brief space centered on the pope. Garibaldi and his colleague Anzani at once wrote to the new pontiff to tender their allegiance, and to offer him the assistance of their arms. "If then to-day our arms, which are not strangers to fighting, are acceptable to your holiness, we need not say how willingly we shall offer them in the service of one who has done so much for our country and our church. We shall count ourselves happy if we can but come to aid Pius IX. in his work of redemption. . . . We shall consider ourselves privileged if we are allowed

to show our devotedness by offering our blood." That was the temper, the spirit of Garibaldi from the dawn to the close of his career—a spirit of simple-minded, pure-hearted, self-sacrificing devotion to his country's cause. No answer reached him from the pope, but anxious at all risks (for he still lay under sentence of death) to be in the forefront of the fight, he sailed with a band of fifty followers for Rome.

He landed at Nice, his native city, on the 24th of June in the memorable year 1848, having already learnt at Alicante the exciting events which had taken place, and burning to be in the midst of them. Without delay he offered his services to King Charles Albert, but the offer was coldly received, and Garibaldi, therefore, went on at once to Milan, where he was enthusiastically welcomed by the citizens. From all sides volunteers flocked to the standard of the now famous warrior, and in a very short time he found himself at the head of thirty thousand men. With this band, notwithstanding the signature of peace by which Charles Albert gave back Milan to the Austrians, Garibaldi continued a desultory but harassing campaign.

The appearance of this extraordinary army is thus described by an eye-witness (quoted by Mr. Bent): "Picture to yourself an incongruous assemblage of individuals of all descriptions, boys of twelve or fourteen, veteran soldiers attracted by the fame of the celebrated chieftain of Montevideo; some stimulated by ambition, others seeking for impunity and license in the confusion of war, yet so restrained by the inflexible severity of their leader that courage and daring

alone could find a vent, whilst more lawless passions were curbed beneath his will. The general and his staff all rode on American saddles, wore scarlet blouses with hats of every possible form without distinction of any kind or pretension to military ornament. . . . Garibaldi, if the encampment was far from the scene of danger, would stretch himself under his tent; if, on the contrary, the enemy were near at hand he remained constantly on horseback giving orders and visiting the outposts. Often, disguised as a peasant, he risked his own safety in daring reconnaissances; but most frequently, seated on some commanding elevation, he would pass whole hours examining the surrounding country with his telescope. When the general's trumpet gave the signal to prepare for departure lassoes secured the horses which had been left to graze in the meadows. The order of march was always arranged on the preceding day, and the corps set out without so much as knowing where the evening would find them. Owing to this patriarchal simplicity, pushed sometimes too far, Garibaldi appeared more like the chief of a tribe of Indians than a general; but at the approach of danger, and in the heat of combat, his presence of mind was admirable; and then by the astonishing rapidity of his movements he made up in a great measure for his deficiency in those qualities which are generally supposed to be absolutely essential to a military commander."

This guerilla warfare, though it failed to improve materially the political situation, succeeded in doing two things: it stimulated to an incredible degree the enthusiasm of the populations from which the volun-

teers were drawn, and it concentrated that enthusiasm on the intrepid hero who commanded them. Before the opening of the campaign of 1849, Charles Albert offered Garibaldi a regular command; but just about that time news came from Rome which caused Garibaldi—to whom as to Mazzini, and to Cavour, Rome represented the embodiment of patriotic aspiration—to fly with a band of fifteen hundred followers to her defence. He was immediately entrusted with the defence of the frontier, which was menaced by the king of Naples.

Upon the strange contortion of events which brought republican France to the assault upon republican Rome I need not dwell; nor upon the heroism with which Rome was defended by Garibaldi and Mazzini. In May Garibaldi's legion covered itself with glory in the two defeats it inflicted on the Neapolitans at Palestrina and Velletri. But the heroic struggle was already drawing to a close. "The situation," wrote Garibaldi, "grew more difficult every day." Just before the French troops, in accordance with the terms of surrender, were about to enter Rome, Garibaldi himself, accompanied by his heroic wife and with a handful of followers, marched out of Rome, "resolved," as he says, "to take to the country and try our fate again rather than submit to the degradation of laying down our arms before the priest-ridden soldiers of Bonaparte." Dogged first by French and then by Austrian forces Garibaldi's little band crossed the Appenines, and then, after hairbreadth escapes, embarked at Cesenatico, meaning to make their way to Venice, which was still maintaining its unequal

struggle with the Austrian forces. In the Adriatic, however, they were confronted by an Austrian squadron which compelled them to put back and land near Ravenna. "I leave it to be imagined what was my position at that unhappy moment; my poor wife dying, the enemy pursuing us inshore with the confidence gained by an easy victory, and the prospect of landing on a coast where in all probability we should find more enemies." Many of the boats were taken, but Garibaldi with his wife and a few followers managed to reach the shore. Still they were pursued; many of his friends, including Ugo Bassi, were taken, and without a form of trial, shot. Garibaldi himself escaped, but not till he had seen his wife expire in his arms. For four years he was a wanderer, but in 1854 he settled down in the island of Caprera, where for years he spent his time laboring as hard as ever he had labored in his warrior days to turn the barren rock into a smiling garden.

But the events of 1859 once more brought the chief out of his retirement. Summoned by Cavour to meet him at Turin, Garibaldi, wearing as usual his loose red blouse and slouching hat, attended one morning at the palace and demanded audience of the minister. He refused to give his name, and the servant, alarmed by his uncouth and fierce appearance, declined, as a well-trained servant should, to let him in. Overcome, however, by his persistence, the servant went so far as to consult his master, though warning him against the importunate stranger. "Let him come in," said the minister, "it is probably some poor devil who has a petition to make to me." Such was the first meet-

ing between the great statesman and the great volunteer. During the campaign Garibaldi added enormously to his reputation, and on its sudden, unforeseen conclusion he was hailed as a national deliverer from end to end of Italy.

We are now in a position to deal with the most splendid episode in Garibaldi's whole career, an episode, indeed, than which none more splendid is to be found in the annals of recorded history. I refer, of course, to the Sicilian expedition and the liberation of South Italy.

I feel it hopeless to attempt to convey to you even the faintest impression of the hideous yet despicable tyranny under which the inhabitants of the Two Sicilies had groaned for nearly half a century. To make clear to you the reasons for the peculiar detestation with which their present government was regarded by the inhabitants of Sicily I should have to go back and trace the stages by which they were deprived of constitutional liberties, which they were the first of European nations to achieve. Such a task is altogether beyond the scope of this lecture. I shall content myself therefore by quoting some of the impressions made by this government upon the mind of an eminently instructed, but at the same time eminently sympathetic observer in the winter of 1850-51.

After a visit to Naples in that year Mr. Gladstone addressed his famous letter to Lord Aberdeen. Three reasons induced him to take a step admittedly unusual. They are thus stated by himself: "First, that the present practices of the government of Naples, in reference to real or supposed political offenders, are an

outrage upon religion, upon civilization, upon humanity, and upon decency. Secondly, that these practices are certainly and even rapidly doing the work of republicanism in that country; a political creed which has little natural or habitual root in the character of the people. Thirdly, that, as a member of the Conservative party in one of the great family of European nations, I am compelled to remember that that party stands in virtual and real though perhaps unconscious alliance with all the established governments of Europe as such; and that according to the measure of its influence they suffer more or less of moral detriment from its reverses and derive strength and encouragement from its successes. This principle . . . is of great practical importance in reference to the government of Naples, which from whatever cause appears to view its own social like its physical position as one under the shadow of a volcano, and which is doing everything in its power from day to day to give reality to its own dangers and fresh intensity together with fresh cause to its fears.

"It is not," he goes on to say, "it is not mere imperfection, not corruption in low practices, not occasional severity, that I am about to describe; it is incessant, systematic, deliberate violation of the law by the power appointed to watch over and maintain it. It is such violation of human and written law as this, carried on for the purpose of violating every other law, written and eternal, temporal and divine; it is the wholesale persecution of virtue when united with intelligence, operating upon such a scale that entire classes may with truth be said to be its object; . . . it is the

awful profanation of public religion, by its notorious alliance in the governing powers with the violation of every moral law under the stimulants of fear and vengeance; it is the perfect prostitution of the judicial office, which has made it, under veils only too threadbare and transparent, the degraded recipient of the vilest and clumsiest forgeries, got up wilfully and deliberately by the immediate advisers of the crown for the purpose of destroying the peace, the freedom, aye, and even if not by capital sentences the life of men among the most virtuous, upright, intelligent, distinguished, and refined of the whole community; it is the savage and cowardly system of moral, as well as in a lower degree of physical, torture through which the sentences extracted from the debased courts of justice are carried into effect. The effect of all this is total inversion of all the moral and social ideas. Law, instead of being respected, is odious. Force and not affection is the foundation of government. There is no association but a violent antagonism between the idea of freedom and that of order. The governing power, which teaches of itself that it is the image of God upon earth, is clothed in the view of the overwhelming majority of the thinking public with all the vices for its attributes. I have seen and heard the too true expression used, 'This is the negation of God erected into a system of government.' "

It is impossible to follow in detail the minute evidence upon which the author bases this appalling but not, I think, greatly exaggerated indictment. You may read that evidence, together with an examination of the official reply put forth in the name of the Nea-

politan government, in the fourth volume of *Gleanings of Past Years*.

Such was the condition of affairs in the kingdom of the Sicilies when, in the spring of 1860, Garibaldi heard that the standard of revolt had been raised in Palermo, in Messina, and Catania. He resolved to start at once for Sicily. What was Cavour to do? It was impossible for the government to sanction an expedition for the assistance of rebels in arms against a friendly power; it was equally impossible to stop Garibaldi and detain his followers. In the fever of excitement which the news had created it was more than the newly-won crown of Italy was worth. Cavour took the only course open to him. Garibaldi and his "thousand" were allowed to sail from Genoa, while to the diplomatic world all responsibility for their actions was strenuously disavowed. Nay, so consummate was the acting of Cavour that the Mazzinians have always continued to assert that he spared no pains to frustrate the objects of the expedition.

Garibaldi waited for no leave. "I know," he wrote on his departure to the king, "that I embark on a perilous enterprise. If we achieve it, I shall be proud to add to your majesty's crown a new and perhaps more glorious jewel, always on the condition that your majesty will stand opposed to counsellors who would cede this province to the foreigner as has been done with the city of my birth." Garibaldi was followed by a Sardinian squadron. Its instructions were brief. "Try to navigate," wrote Cavour to the admiral, "between Garibaldi and the Neapolitan cruisers. I hope you understand me." Admiral Persano's reply

was equally laconic. "I believe I understand you; if I am mistaken, you can send me to prison."

When it was known that Garibaldi had actually sailed, the excitement in the diplomatic world was immense. England alone, whose sympathies were now thoroughly aroused for the oppressed Sicilians, openly rejoiced at the turn events had taken. Garibaldi luckily was beyond the reach of diplomatic interference. A "horde of pirates," "desperadoes," "bandits," "dregs of the human race,"—such were the least opprobrious of the epithets bestowed on his devoted band. Cavour had to bear the brunt of the attack, but he was not dismayed. "Here things do not go badly," he wrote from Turin to Palermo. "The diplomatists do not molest us too much. Russia made a fearful hubbub; Prussia, less." Meanwhile Garibaldi's progress in the south was one series of triumphs. Sicily was conquered in a few days. Thence he crossed to Spartivento; drove Bomba into Gaeta; and on the 7th of September entered Naples. In a few days Garibaldi and his handful of followers had made themselves masters of a kingdom. It is an achievement which stands alone in modern history. No wonder that it took the world by storm: that Garibaldi was regarded rather as the hero of a mythical romance than an ordinary mortal of flesh and blood. But though all that the intrepid leadership of the chief and the unwavering confidence of followers could do had already been achieved, yet the difficulties were by no means over. Naples and Sicily were without a government. Garibaldi, therefore, was proclaimed dictator.

Meanwhile Cavour, alarmed at the rapidity with which the Sicilian kingdoms had fallen before the assault of Garibaldi; alarmed, too, at the growing popularity of the chief; alarmed, above all, at the news that Mazzini was in Naples, Cavour, I say, proposed to his parliament the immediate annexation of the newly-conquered province to the Italian kingdom. "Italy," he wrote to Persano, "must be saved from foreigners, evil principles, and madmen." He feared the influence of Mazzini's fanatical republicanism on the ingenuous mind of Garibaldi; he feared also that, flushed with their triumph, they would march from Naples straight on Rome. That step, as he well knew, would involve the instant intervention of the emperor of the French. Such a disaster must be averted at all hazards, but how could it be done? The Italian parliament had approved of annexation, but would Garibaldi respect the vote? Garibaldi now demanded a confirmation of his own dictatorship, and declared that he would not annex the provinces to the Italian kingdom till he could proclaim Victor Emmanuel king of Italy in Rome. Everything was now at stake—the lifework of Cavour, the lifework of Mazzini, the lifework of Garibaldi himself. Cavour, in this supreme moment of his great career, was equal to the crisis. By a masterly stroke of policy the control of the movement was taken out of the rash hands of the knights-errant and confirmed in those of sober statesmanship. He decided to despatch a royal army to the Roman marches, and so to anticipate the dreaded move of Garibaldi. "If we do not arrive on the Volturno," he wrote to the Italian ambassadors

abroad, "before Garibaldi arrives at La Cattolica, the monarchy is lost. Italy will remain a prey to revolution." Napoleon had given a modified assent to this step. "If Piedmont," he said, "thinks this absolutely necessary to save herself from an abyss of evil, be it so, but it must be done at her own risk and peril." Cavour accepted full responsibility, and early in September the Sardinian army was marching south. At Castelfidardo they met and completely routed the mercenary forces—for most part Irish soldiers, commanded by French officers—employed by the pope, and directly afterward they occupied Ancona.

At the moment when the royal troops were marching south, the Garibaldians were marching north. "If you are not on your way toward Rome or Venice before three weeks are over your initiative will be at an end." That was Mazzini's warning to the general, and the advice was sound. Luckily for Cavour, luckily for Italy, aye, and luckily for Garibaldi, the king of Naples turned to bay at last and confronted him on the northern bank of the Volturno. On the 1st of October the battle of the Volturno was fought: the Neapolitans were scattered; *their* king took refuge in Gaeta, and so Garibaldi was left face to face with *his* king—Victor Emmanuel. In the mind of the single-hearted hero the brief struggle was past. When he met the king it was to lay down the authority he had perforce assumed; to offer to his master the "new and brilliant jewel" he had promised for his crown. The day before the king's entrance into Naples Garibaldi had issued a farewell proclamation to the people. "To-morrow Victor Emmanuel, the elect of the nation, will break

down the frontier which has divided us for so many centuries from the rest of the country, and listening to the unanimous voice of this brave people" (referring, of course, to the plebiscite which had just been taken), "will appear amongst us. Let us worthily receive him who is sent by Providence, and scatter in his path, as the pledge of our redemption and our affection, the flowers of concord, to him so grateful, to us so necessary. No more political colors, no more parties, no more discords. Italy one, under the King *Galantuomo*, who is the symbol of our regeneration and the prosperity of our country." On the 7th of November the king and Garibaldi entered Naples side by side.

And then, having thus introduced the king to the new kingdom which his sword had won for him, the simple-hearted chief, refusing all decorations, all rewards, went quietly away to his island home in Caprera, knowing well that for himself, for all concerned, he was safest there. No wonder that the imagination of the world was touched, as it is rarely touched even by the grandest feats of arms, by this act of dignified and simple self-renunciation.

"Not that three armies thou didst overthrow,
Not that three cities ope'd their gates to thee
I praise thee, chief ; not for this royalty,
Decked with new crowns, that utterly lay low ;
For nothing of all thou didst forsake, to go
And tend thy vines amid the Etrurian sea ;
Not even that thou didst *this*—that history
Retread two thousand selfish years to show
Another Cincinnatus ! Rather for this—
The having lived such a life that even this deed

Of stress heroic natural seems, as is
Calm night, when glorious day it doth succeed,
And we, forwarned by surest auguries,
The amazing act with no amazement read."

On the 18th of February, 1861, a new parliament, for the first time representative of all parts of Italy except Venice and Rome, assembled at Turin. Its first business was to establish on a legal basis the new kingdom, and to proclaim the King Victor Emmanuel II., by the grace of God and by the will of the nation, king of Italy. Yet with all the triumphant enthusiasm with which the proclamation was hailed, there still mingled the thought of Venice and of Rome—two gaping wounds, still unhealed, in the side of Italy. We have already seen how powerfully the mere idea of Rome acted on the imagination of Mazzini; how it spurred on Garibaldi, despite all the intricacies of a tedious diplomacy, to win Rome or die; how it had led Cavour less excitedly but with no less determination to declare that "without Rome for a capital Italy can never be firmly united." One must be Italian, one must feel Southern blood in one's veins, must have been educated in this glorious history under the painted wings of classic poetry, to comprehend all the influences that Rome exercises over the Italian mind. Those who wished to make Italy a monarchy, and afterward denied her the capital which is hers by nature, did but construct a headless body.¹

There was no man, no party in Italy, which did not fully realize this truth. Cavour felt it full as strongly as Garibaldi or Mazzini. But there was divergence

¹ Castelar. quoted by Miss Godkin.

between them as to means. Cavour was weighted by an official responsibility which the others never felt. He saw difficulties which they did not, and consequently he seemed to the more ardent spirits lacking in the enthusiasm by which all were, in reality, equally inspired. To Garibaldi especially the attitude of Cavour was exasperating, and a most painful scene in the first Italian parliament was the unfortunate result. On the 18th of April Garibaldi, in a most intemperate speech, attacked the great minister with the utmost bitterness. He declared, as he concluded an impassioned harangue, that it would be for ever impossible for him to clasp the hand of the man who had sold his country to the foreigner, or to ally himself with a government whose cold and mischievous hand was trying to foment fratricidal war. Cavour was deeply hurt, but replied with marvelous self-control. "I know," he said, "that between me and the honorable General Garibaldi there exists a fact which divides us two like an abyss. I believed that I fulfilled a painful duty—the most painful I ever accomplished in my life—in counselling the king and proposing to parliament to approve the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. By the grief that I then experienced I can understand that which the honorable General Garibaldi must have felt, and if he cannot forgive me this act I will not bear him any grudge for it." At the urgent entreaty of the king himself the two men subsequently met, and a reconciliation was effected. Three months later the great statesman was no more.

Nothing, however, could shake in the least degree Garibaldi's resolution to make an immediate assault

upon Rome. The ministries which followed the death of Cavour undoubtedly bungled; and rightly or wrongly Garibaldi was led to suppose that the government would oppose his attack upon Rome in much the same sense that they had opposed his attack upon Sicily. Never had the ripe wisdom of Cavour been more indispensable. It was clearly impossible to allow a subject to defy the government and act independently in a matter so difficult and delicate as that of Rome. Garibaldi persisted; he was met on the march to Rome by a royal army at Aspromonte, and his volunteers were scattered far and wide. Garibaldi himself was wounded, and carried a state prisoner to Varignano. The wounded chieftain was a terrible embarrassment to a government already somewhat discredited. Garibaldi was, indeed, as Mr. Bent has said, "the idol of Italy, from the throne to the cottage; Italians worshiped him, but they did not know what to do with him." The enthusiasm aroused for him, reasoning and unreasoning alike, may be illustrated by an incident related by the same author. His room at Varignano was besieged by ladies of every degree, anxious for the honor of ministering, in however small a measure, to the illustrious invalid. It was mentioned in one of the English papers that Garibaldi had said that the sound of an English voice did him good. Immediately there was a perfect exodus of English ladies anxious to satisfy his slightest whim. Among them was a worthy old woman from Reading, of quite humble circumstances, who set out with her daughter, with more zeal than knowledge, for Varignano. Their journey accomplished, they demanded permission to nurse

him, to apply the soothing voice for which he had asked. Of course the permission was refused; the women could not speak a word of the language; they had spent all their money, and had to be sent home by the government. Not, however, it is satisfactory to know, before they had spent a few raptured moments in the chamber of the sufferer, and had obtained a lock of hair and an unquestionable autograph.

After the general amnesty Garibaldi decided to visit England, to try and arouse among the English people a more definite and fruitful enthusiasm on the Roman question. Seldom, if ever, has such a welcome awaited a foreign visitor to England. I have been told by one who witnessed his landing at Southampton that the poor general's garments were literally torn to ribbons by enthusiastic admirers. The whole English world, official and non-official, quite lost their heads as well as their hearts. But there was one person of some count in Europe who was by no means well pleased at the reception accorded to Garibaldi in this country. How much Napoleon's annoyance had to do with the sudden departure of our guest is one of those diplomatic mysteries which may never be cleared up. Lord Palmerston repudiated the notion of official interference. Anyhow, the whole of his provincial engagements were suddenly abandoned, and Garibaldi left for home.

There was work in Italy ready to his hand. In 1865 the capital had been transferred from Turin to Florence—a stepping-stone to Rome, suggested by the French government itself. In the following year, 1866, Victor Emmanuel concluded an alliance

with Prussia, then on the eve of her duel with Austria. On the 20th of June Italy declared war on Austria. Both on land and sea Italy was badly beaten, but Austria was so utterly crushed by Prussia in the brief campaign which terminated at Sadowa that she no longer offered any serious obstacle to the abandonment of the Venetian provinces; and thus at last the foreigner was finally expelled from Italy, and Venice was united with the rest of Italy.

Meanwhile the Roman question, if not entirely solved, was advancing rapidly toward solution. As early as 1864 Victor Emmanuel had come to an understanding with Napoleon in the matter. "Of course," said the French minister, "in the end you will go to Rome. But it is important" (of course on account of the relations of the government and the Catholic church at home) "that between our evacuation and your going there, such an interval of time and such a series of events should elapse as to prevent people establishing any connection between the two facts; France must not have any responsibility." In September, 1864, accordingly, France concluded a convention by which she agreed to withdraw her troops from Rome, while Victor Emmanuel engaged to respect what remained of the temporal power. But the progress made or perhaps rather permitted by diplomacy, was too slow for Garibaldi. He had once more fallen under the influence of the extreme republicans, and in 1867 he declared that he would delay no longer in planting the republican banner on the Vatican. Between these hot-headed and fanatical republicans on the one side, the Italian ultramontanes on another,

and the French emperor on the third, the position of Victor Emmanuel was anything but enviable.

In the autumn of 1867 Garibaldi was suddenly arrested by the government, but released on condition that he would remain quietly at Caprera. But meanwhile the volunteers under Menotti Garibaldi (the great chief's son) had advanced into the papal states. The old warrior was burning to be with them. On the 14th of October he effected his escape from Caprera, and managed eventually to join his son in the Romagna. Together they advanced on Rome, and won, after tremendous fighting, a great victory at Monte Rotundo. Meanwhile an army of occupation sent by the government from Florence had crossed the Roman frontier, and a French force had landed on the coast. Garibaldi's position was already critical, but his resolution was unbroken. "The government of Florence," he said, in a proclamation to the volunteers, "has invaded the Roman territory, already won by us with precious blood from the enemies of Italy; we ought to receive our brothers in arms with love, and aid them in driving out of Rome the mercenary sustainers of tyranny; but if base deeds, the continuation of the vile convention of September, in mean consort with Jesuitism, shall urge us to lay down our arms in obedience to the order of the 2d December, then will I let the world know that I alone, a Roman general, with full power, elected by the universal suffrage of the only legal government in Rome, that of the republic, have the right to maintain myself in arms in this the territory subject to my jurisdiction; and then, if any of these my volunteers, champions of liberty and

Italian unity, wish to have Rome as the capital of Italy, fulfilling the vote of parliament and the nation, they must not put down their arms until Italy shall have acquired liberty of conscience and worship, built upon the ruin of Jesuitism, and until the soldiers of tyrants shall be banished from our land."

The position taken up by Garibaldi is perfectly intelligible. Rome we must have, if possible, by legal process, in conjunction with the royal arms; but if they will stand aside, even if they will oppose, none the less Rome must be annexed to Italy. Unfortunately Garibaldi had left out of account the French force despatched by Napoleon III. to defend the temporal dominions of the pope, a force which even at this moment was advancing to the attack. The two armies met near the little village of Mentana, ill-matched in every respect. The volunteers, numerous indeed but ill-disciplined and badly armed, brought together, held together simply by the magic of a name, the French, admirably disciplined, armed with the fatal chassepots, fighting the battle of their ancient church. The Garibaldians were terribly defeated. Victor Emmanuel grieved bitterly, like a true, warm-hearted father for the fate of his misguided but generous-hearted sons. "Ah, those chassepots!" he would exclaim sometimes; "they have mortally wounded my heart as father and as king; I feel as if the balls had torn my flesh here. It is one of the greatest griefs I have ever known." Torn by anguish, he still maintained an attitude of unshaken dignity alike toward the French and toward his own rebellious sons. To the emperor of the French he wrote an ardent appeal

begging him to break with the Clericals and put himself at the head of the Liberal party in Europe, at the same time warning him that the old feeling of gratitude toward the French in Italy had quite disappeared. "The late events have suffocated every remembrance of gratitude in the heart of Italy. It is no longer in the power of the government to maintain the alliance with France. The chassepot gun at Mentana has given it a mortal blow." At the same time the rebels were visited with condign punishment. Garibaldi himself was arrested, but after a brief imprisonment at Varignano was permitted to retire once more to Caprera. A prisoner so big as Garibaldi is always an embarrassment to jailers.

But the last act in the great drama, the slow development of which you have with so much patience watched, was near at hand. In 1870 the Franco-German War broke out. The contest, involving as it did the most momentous consequences, was as brief as it was decisive. The French, of course; could no longer maintain their position as champions of the temporal power. Once more, therefore, the king of Italy attempted, with all the earnestness and with all tenderness at his command, to induce the pope to come to terms and accept the position, at once dignified and independent, which the Italian government was anxious to secure to him.

"Most Blessed Father—With the affection of a son, with the faith of a Catholic, with the soul of an Italian, I address myself now, as on former occasions, to the heart of your Holiness.

"A flood of dangers threatens Europe. Profiting

by the war which desolates the center of the Continent, the cosmopolitan revolutionary party increases in boldness and audacity, and is planning, especially in that part of Italy ruled by your Holiness, the direst offenses against the monarchy and the papacy. I know that the greatness of your soul will not be less than the greatness of events; but I, being a Catholic king and Italian, and as such guardian, by the disposition of Providence and the national will, of the destinies of all the Italians, I feel it my duty to take, in the face of Europe and Catholicity, the responsibility of maintaining order in the peninsula and the safety of the Holy See. . . . Permit me, your Holiness, again to say that the present moment is a solemn one for Italy and the Church. Let the popehood add efficacy to the spirit of inextinguishable benevolence in your soul toward this land, which is also *your* country, and the sentiments of conciliation which I have always studied to translate into acts, that satisfying the national aspirations, the head of Catholicity, surrounded by the devotion of the Italian people, should preserve on the banks of the Tiber a glorious seat, independent of every human sovereignty. Your Holiness, by liberating Rome from foreign troops, will take from her the constant danger of being the battleground of subversive parties. You will accomplish a marvelous work, restore peace to the church, and show Europe, aghast at the horrors of war, how one can win great battles and obtain immortal victories by an act of justice, by one sole word of affection."

But the pope still unflinchingly adhered to the position he had taken up. "I cannot," he wrote (11

September, 1870,) admit the demands of your letter nor accept the principles contained therein. I address myself to God and place my cause in His hands, for it is entirely His. I pray Him to concede abundant grace to your Majesty, deliver you from every peril, and render you a participator in all the mercies of which you may have need." However one may sympathize with the natural ambition of the new-born Italian nation to have its capital in Rome; however clearly we may realize, and it were the supremest folly to ignore, the insuperable difficulties which the papal claims involved; however much we may concur in the justice of the national demand—it is at the same time impossible, and I hope not wholly inconsistent, not to feel a real admiration for the inflexible determination, for the unbroken consistency which maintained in all their integrity the claims of that sovereignty compared with which, as Macaulay says, the "proudest royal houses are but of yesterday"—that sovereignty which "was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot in Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca."

But, however much of sympathy we may feel for the fallen pontiff, our reason compels us to approve the king. A feint of resistance was made, but on the 20th of September the royal troops entered Rome, and the tricolor was mounted on the palace of the capitol. So soon as might be a plebiscite was taken. The numbers are significant—for the king, 40,788; for the pope, 46. But though the work was thus accomplished in

the autumn of 1870, it was not until 2d of June, 1871, that the king made his triumphal entry into the capital of Italy.¹ "The work," said the king in the first speech he addressed to the parliament in Rome, "the work to which we consecrated our lives is accomplished. After long trials Italy is restored to herself and to Rome. Here where our people, scattered for so many centuries, find themselves for the first time reassembled in the majesty of their representatives, here where we recognize the home of our thoughts, everything speaks to us of grandeur, but at the same time everything reminds us of our duties. . . . We have arisen in the name of liberty, and in liberty and order we ought to seek the secret of strength and conciliation. . . . The future opens before us rich in happy promise; it is for us to respond to the favors of Providence by showing ourselves worthy to represent amongst the great nations of the earth the glorious part of Italy and of Rome."

My purpose is fulfilled. The work of Italian unification is now complete. Look back for one instant on the road that we have come, on the steps by which the goal has been attained. See the Italy of the ante-Neapoleonic days, hopeless, inert, benumbed; without one generous impulse, without one hope, without one thought of the possibility of better things to come. See the Italy of 1815, molded by the whims of the Viennese diplomatists; molded on the effete and worn-

¹ The king had already paid a private visit to Rome at the end of the previous year (1870). A terrible inundation of the Tiber had taken place, and the king at once set off for Rome to demonstrate his sympathy with the distress of his new subjects. His conduct at this time won him the respect and affection of many of those who had been the staunchest adherents of the Temporal Power.

out principles of the hardened, faithless eighteenth century; divided, dismembered, distraught; its peoples bandied to and fro; its provinces distributed; here an Austrian, there a Bourbon, but all equally degraded beneath the ignoble yoke of alien tyranny. Then look on Italy in the thirty years' agony before the year of revolution; her noblest sons in exile; her bravest patriots fretting out their souls in Austrian dungeons; her poets silenced and her art in chains. See the brief but splendid awakening of 1848; Italy free; Italy at one when "the war-cry rang from Alp to Etna"; when "her sons knew they were happy to have looked on her, and felt it beautiful to die for her." And then follow the era of diplomacy and statesmanship. Shall I essay the graceless task of appraising the comparative value of the work which, under the calm and even inspiration, under the temperate guiding of the king, the statesman, prophet, and crusader, achieved for her who had the happiness to call them sons? The task has been once for all accomplished by a great writer.¹ "Cavour had the genius of statesmanship—a practical sense of what could be done, combined with rare dexterity in doing it, fine diplomatic and parliamentary tact, and noble courage in the hour of need. Without the enthusiasm amounting to the passion of a new religion which Mazzini inspired, without Garibaldi's brilliant achievements and the idolatry excited by this pure-hearted hero in the breasts of all who fought with him and felt his sacred fire, there is little doubt that Cavour would not have found the creation of united Italy possible.

¹ Mr. John Addington Symonds.

But if Cavour had not been there to win the confidence, support, and sympathy of Europe, if he had not been recognized as a man whose work was solid and whose sense was just in all emergencies, Mazzini's efforts would have run to waste in questionable insurrections, and Garibaldi's feats of arms must have added but one chapter more to the history of unproductive patriotism. While, therefore, we recognize the part played by each of these great men in the liberation of their country, and while we willingly ignore their differences and disputes, it is Cavour whom we must honor with the title of the maker of Italian unity."

Italy is free; Italy is one. We have followed in these last days her progress toward unity and freedom; we have been watchers, as Mazzini finely says, "over a mystery of dawning life, over the cradle of a people." In the presence of that mystery skepticism and unfaith as to the future are impossible; we have looked back honestly, we may look forward calmly—calm in the assurance that there is in store for Italy a future, not, be sure, without its trials, but at least not unworthy of the traditions of her far-distant past; not unworthy of the splendid achievements in times more recent of her several but divided states; not unworthy of the sons whose widely differing but convergent efforts have combined to make her one.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What actions of the Italian states made the terms of the Peace of Villafranca impossible? 2. How did the different powers of Europe act under the circumstances? 3. Give the

substance of Victor Emmanuel's message to the pope. 4. Contrast the opening of parliament in 1860 with that of the previous year. 5. Why did the cession of Savoy and Nice to France seem inevitable? 6. How differently was it regarded by parliament, people, and Garibaldi? 7. Give an account of Garibaldi's life up to 1848. 8. Describe his army. 9. What did Garibaldi accomplish by his guerilla warfare? 10. Describe his defeat before Rome and the immediate events which followed. 11. What was the condition of things in the Two Sicilies at this time? 12. How did Cavour behave toward Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily? 13. How did Garibaldi's success become dangerous to the union of Italy? 14. How did Cavour act in this crisis? 15. Describe the events which followed at Naples? 16. What was the condition of Italy when parliament met in 1861? 17. Describe the scene between Cavour and Garibaldi in the first Italian parliament. 18. Why was Cavour compelled to overthrow Garibaldi? 19. What change was made in the Italian capital in 1865? 20. What was the result of the Italian alliance with Prussia? 21. When did the French troops withdraw from Rome, and why? 22. Why was Garibaldi arrested in 1867? 23. Describe the contest over Rome and the defeat of the volunteers. 24. How did the Franco-Prussian War favor Victor Emmanuel's plans? 25. What appeal did he make to the pope, and with what result? 26. Describe the occupation of Rome by the king. 27. Compare the work of the four great makers of Modern Italy.

APPENDIX I

AUTHORITIES

I.—GENERAL WORKS.

Mr. Probyn's *History of Italy* (Cassells) contains a concise but readable account of the history of the Italian movement from 1815 to 1870. A still shorter sketch may be found in Mackenzie's *Nineteenth Century*, or in *A Century of Continental History*, by Mr. Rose.

Mr. Fyffe's *History of Modern Europe*, vol. ii, gives a good account of the movement down to 1848.

Gallenga's two works, *History of Piedmont*, 3 vols., and *Italy Present and Future*, 2 vols., may also be consulted, together with the same author's (*sub nom* Mariotti) *Italy Past and Present*, 2 vols., and *Italy in 1848*, 1 vol.

The articles in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on "Italy" (by J. A. Symonds) and on "Mazzini" and "Cavour" are admirably done, and may with great advantage be consulted.

Those who desire fuller and further information will find it in the following works:

Cesare Balbo: *Sommario*.

Quinet: *Revolutions d'Italie*.

Reuchlin: *Geschichte Italiens*.

Colletta: *History of Naples*.

Romanin: *History of Venice*.

Horner: *A Century of Despotism in Naples and Sicily*.

Nolan: *The War in Italy* (1857).

Rimini: *The Truth Respecting Italy and Piedmont* (1862).

S. W. Fullom: *Rome Under Pius IX. Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia: results of his rule, by an Eyewitness*.

Bersezio: *I Contemporanei Italiani*.

D'Azeglio: *I Miei Ricordi*.

Orsini: *Austrian Prisons*.

Silvio Pellico: *Le Mie Prigioni*.

Correspondence relating to the affairs of Italy. Presented to Parliament, 1849.

Correspondence, etc. 1860.

Mr. Swinburne's poems, "The Song of Italy" and "Super

Flumina Babylonis," and Mrs. Hamilton King's poem, "The Disciples," written at the request of Mazzini, should be read by all those who seek to realize the enthusiasm excited for the cause of Italian independence in England.

2.—SPECIAL WORKS.

(a) VICTOR EMMANUEL :—

Massari: *La Vita ed il Regno di Vittorio Emanuele*.
 Godkin: *Life of Victor Emmanuel*. 2 vols. (Macmillan.)
 Dicey: *Essay on Victor Emmanuel*. 1 vol.

(b) MAZZINI :—

Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini. 6 vols. Smith, Elder and Co., 1864-70.

This work, which is in part autobiographical, is essential to a thorough understanding of Mazzini's career.

There is a good selection from his Essays published in the *Camelot Classics Series* (W. Scott), edited by W. Clarke; but two of the most important Essays, viz., *Thoughts on Democracy* and the *Duties of Man*, are not included in this edition. They are appended, however, to Madame E. A. Venturi's *Joseph Mazzini, a Memoir* (H. S. King.) References may also be made to Mr. Myer's *Modern Essays*; to *Mazzini*, by Jules de Bréval (Vizetelly, 1853); and to *Un Roi et un Conspirateur*, by Auguste Boullier (Libraire Plon, 1885.)

(c) CAVOUR :—

Massari's *Life of Cavour* is the most elaborate biography, but in default students may consult Mazade's *Life of Count Cavour* (Chapman and Hall, 1877); or *Reminiscences of the Life and Character of Count Cavour*, by William de la Rive, translated by Edward Romilly (Longmans, 1862); or Mr. Edward Dicey's *Memoir of Cavour* (Macmillan, 1861); or Hayward's Essay on Cavour in his *European Statesmen*.

(d) GARIBALDI :—

Autobiography of Garibaldi, edited by Werner, 3 vols., recently published, is by far the best account of Garibaldi's career; but reference may also be made to Mr. Theodore Bent's *Garibaldi*; to Col. Chambers' *Garibaldi and Italian Unity*; or to *Recollections of Garibaldi*, by Elpis Melena (translated).

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